DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 061 RC 014 845

TITLE Compendium of Information on Intercultural Education Schemes in Europe. Education of Migrants' Children.
INSTITUTION Council for Cultural Cooperation, Strasbourg (France).
REPORT NO DECS/EGT-(83)-62
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 190p.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Biculturalism; Bilingual Education; Cooperation; *Cultural Awareness; Culture Contact; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Intercultural Programs; *Migrant Education; *Multicultural Education; Native Language Instruction; Preschool Education; Program Descriptions; *School Community Relationship; *Teacher Education
IDENTIFIERS *Europe

ABSTRACT

The collection of essays describes 12 European experiments in multicultural education. Most of the complementary experiments focus on the school establishment, taking school and the introduction of intercultural education as a starting point for developing relations with the family and the community. Some concentrate on the means of intercultural education, especially teacher training, cooperation between native and migrant teachers, and the production of teaching aids. Others concentrate from the outset on the community and involve the school as an ideal partner in intercultural education, through the disseminating effect and influence that its action can have. The essays describe experiments in the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Turkey, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. They include multicultural education projects at the preschool, elementary, secondary, and teacher educational levels and projects that involve Germans and Turks, Finns and Swedes, Yugoslavs and Swedes, Greek Cypriots and English, and Dutch and Turk/Moraccans. The essays show that interculturalism is being increasingly espoused by educational and social officials concerned with the joint education of native and migrant children and with the integration of migrants in local communities. (Author/SB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED247061

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

DECS/EGT (83) 68

Education of migrants' children

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Compendium of information on intercultural education schemes in Europe

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Council of Europe

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RC014845

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
School Education Division

Strasbourg 1983

Strasbourg 10 August 1983 DECS/EGT (83) 62

COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Education of migrants' children

COMPENDIUM OF INFORMATION ON INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION SCHEMES IN EUROPE

JUL 1984
RECEIVED
ERIC/CRESS

The responsibility of the views expressed in this document are borne by the authors and not by the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe or the Secretariat of the organisation

81.580
04.2

CONTENTS

	Page
- INTRODUCTION by Micheline REY	1
- Intercultural education in primary schools: Werthauserstrasse, Duisburg-Rheinhausen and Bismarckstrasse, Krefeld by Manfred HOHMANN, with Fritz WITTEK, Anette CHMIELORZ, Ingrid GOGOLIN	9
- Mother tongue teaching in classes comprising two nationalities. An experiment in co-operation between Finnish and Swedish pupils in the municipality of Värmdö by Bertil NORBELIE	33
- Interculturalism in preschool education between Yugoslavs and Swedes in Malmö by Burhan MISIRLI	49
- Multicultural education as exemplified in the Stationers' Company's School by Robert D BAYNES	65
- A seminar in Ankara for host country teachers by Hamdi BINAY	77
- An intercultural training course for foreign and French teachers by the Grenoble CEFISEM by Michelle HUART	85
- An experiment in co-operation between teachers from the host country and countries of origin by Paquito Cuesta de GORCERAT, Lina MAZZA, Sylviane QUAKERNACK-MAGNIN, Marie SCHUBAUER LEONI	105
- Projekt Thuisland by B J L PAPENDORP and J M F TEUNISSEN	121
- The Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines intercultural project by Ruth PADRUN	137
- Samen wonen, samen leven (Living side by side, living together) by Simon A JONKER, Rein NIJENHUIS, Rien VAN DER VELDEN	153
- Broad Heath School, Coventry: a development in multicultural and community education by Michael FEELEY	171
- Conclusions: Main lines of intercultural education by Micheline REY	185
APPENDIX: Council of Europe's publication on the education of migrants' children - series "The training of teachers"	

Introduction

by

Mme Micheline REY

Chairperson of the Working Party of the
Council for Cultural Co-operation
on the Training of Teachers of
Migrants' Children

This compendium of information on intercultural education schemes in Europe has been compiled in connection with the activities of the working party set up by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation on the training of teachers of migrant workers' children.

After analysing a number of significant experiments in teacher training in a number of European countries, and emphasising the importance of intercultural education as defined and exemplified in the study by Louis Porcher, Education of migrant workers' children in Europe: inter-culturalism and teacher training; after preparing background dossiers on the culture, civilisation and education systems of countries of origin and host countries for use by training centres and teachers; after organising training seminars in intercultural teaching, and after conducting a pilot project to produce teaching materials (1), the working party wished to describe a number of independent schemes, not directly related to the Council of Europe, but which had been carried out using an intercultural approach.

The schemes described in this compendium show that interculturalism is not a Utopian dream, but an option which is actually being increasingly espoused by educational and social officials concerned with the joint education of native and migrant children and with the integration of migrants in local communities.

Admittedly, recognition of the equal value of co-existing cultures despite the tendency of some to dominate others, mutual knowledge and cultural dialogue, as postulated by interculturalism, are not easy. The schemes described here illustrate the many pitfalls that have to be overcome in the field by those who seek to provide equality of opportunity in school, to escape ethnocentric attitudes, and to relate differing cultures dynamically to one another in order to generate mutual enrichment. None of them claims to provide a model or to offer a ready-made solution. Yet together they do represent useful markers for the purpose both of conceptualising the intercultural hypothesis and of explaining local realities and the concrete forms which may be taken by measures designed to encourage the development of such education and the requirements that this option implies.

The network of interactions in all real-life operations is extremely complex. It always involves the school, the family and the community; it implies participation by both teachers and others representing migrant cultures; it draws attention to the role of teacher training and training for other educational staff; it reveals the need for appropriate intercultural teaching materials. Yet, for all that, it takes various forms depending on the most urgent requirements and local needs.

---

(1) See appended list of publications, which may be obtained from the Council of Europe Secretariat (School Education Division), F-67006 STRASBOURG Cedex.

In the 12 experiments described here, the components of the problem have been seen differently. Priorities (chosen or imposed) have been determined in an attempt to find solutions. These various approaches contribute to the advance of the intercultural approach both through their successes, which give encouragement to all those taking part in the scheme as well as those who have to cope with the same problems elsewhere, and through their limitations. Their limitations contribute not only to bringing out the importance of the interactions at work (which sometimes tend to be concealed because they are difficult to grasp) but also to revealing their nature and how they operate in the field.

Most of the schemes focus on the school establishment, taking school and the introduction of intercultural education as a starting point for developing relations with the family and the community. This is so in the case of the experiments in Duisburg-Rheinhausen, Krefeld, Värmdö, Malmö and London. Some, adopting the same approach, concentrate on the means of intercultural education, particularly teacher training, co-operation between native and migrant teachers, the production of teaching aids. Examples are the experiments at Ankara, Grenoble, Geneva and the Dutch "Thuisland" project. Other schemes, concentrating from the outset on the community, involve the school as an ideal partner in intercultural education, through the disseminating effect and influence that its action can have. Cases in point are St-Quentin-en-Ivelynes, Coventry and Rotterdam. Although these approaches complement each other and there is no question of judging one as better than another, it is in this order - since order there must be - that we shall describe the 12 case studies.

Intercultural education in the school

Mr Hohmann's team, before applying the intercultural yardstick to the experiments carried out by the Werthauserstrasse (Duisburg-Rheinhausen) and Bismarckstrasse (Krefeld) schools, recapitulates the main lines of the intercultural approach to education.

- The intercultural approach does not seek to substitute new educational targets for the basic functions of teaching in the school, but to broaden existing concerns.

- Stressing the influence of culture of origin and host culture on each other, it concerns not only the migrant children and their ability to cope with their situation as migrants, but also the native children and their ability to benefit from multi-cultural reality.

- Bearing in mind the changes brought about by migration both for migrants and for the host societies, it is impossible to take stock of the cultural situation once and for all. What needs to be done is to work out migrants' and natives' schemas of interpretation, expression and cultural orientation as each change, as so many processes of reinterpretation and reorganisation of a new and shifting situation.

- Intercultural education, whose field of reference is the real-life experience of all children living in the host country, which is both its object and its objective, is not just one more school subject, but rather the fundamental principle underlying all school activity.

- It therefore requires that the school as an institution re-examine, revise and broaden its own sociocentric and ethnocentric standards and that intercultural activities go beyond the narrow framework of school, ensure the establishment of lasting relationships between pupils, capable of withstanding cultural conflict between different systems of values as they arise in childhood and later in adult life.

The German case studies offer two possible approaches for seeking to counter the danger of school ghettos forming in the major industrial areas where there are high proportions of foreigners. To help the integration of foreign children, Turkish in particular, the Werthauserstrasse primary school in Duisburg-Rheinhausen opted for direct integration of children with a sufficient knowledge of German into international classes. These classes follow the normal German curriculum with written language lessons as part of the normal timetable. Turkish children with difficulties in German are placed in classes made up entirely of Turkish children, where teaching is given partly in Turkish and partly in German. Intensive extra German is also provided for pupils who are complete beginners in the language. Close co-operation has been established between native and foreign teachers, between the school and the neighbourhood "youth centre" and families.

In Krefeld the uneven distribution of the foreign population prompted the experimental allocation of pupils throughout all the town's schools, despite the distances involved, in order to help their integration in the ordinary school system. The Turkish pupils allocated to the Bismarckstrasse school represented a proportion of 25% and were enrolled directly in ordinary classes, generally in a proportion of 6 per class of 25. In addition, for recent immigrants reception classes were organised with the proportion of integrated or separate teaching varying according to levels. There is effective co-operation between mother tongue and German teachers, but the distance between the school and the pupils' homes conflicts with one of the objectives and makes contact with families difficult.

The author notes that these experiments show it is possible for different national elements to co-exist with equal rights and equal value. However, in order that they may be genuinely intercultural, these schemes ought to concern native pupils and teachers more directly, since they too need to learn about the cultural references and living conditions of their opposite numbers. It is perhaps a consequence of these difficulties that the measures adopted did not suffice to provide equal educational opportunity, guidance decisions no doubt remaining impregnated by prescriptive postulates ill-fitted to reflect all aspects of the behaviour and performance of foreign children.

B Norbelie describes an experiment in mother tongue teaching in classes made up of equal proportions of two nationalities, at Värmdö (Sweden). The inclusion in the same class of Finnish and Swedish children for the first six years of schooling confers enhanced status on the migrants' mother tongue. They are able to receive a large part of their tuition in Finnish and to effect a gradual transition to Swedish. It also helps to develop understanding between pupils of different language groups. The whole of school life is organised in terms of these objectives: disposition of premises, school curriculum, co-operation between teachers, relations with families. After four years of experiment, this system seems to have proved satisfactory. The educational and social objectives have been achieved. The difficulties that have had to be overcome consist mainly in providing information for families, obtaining suitable teaching materials, securing co-operation between teachers, the problems being connected both with differences of approach, differences of status and differences in the functions, not only educational but also social, entrusted to the teachers.

B Misirli deals with the conditions and consequences of intercultural education in pre-school education, on the basis of an experiment conducted at Malmö (Sweden) in a neighbourhood with a large Yugoslav population. The factors which enabled intercultural relationships to develop included the presence in the educational team of persons who spoke the children's mother tongue; the conduct of joint activities based on cultural expression by both the migrants and natives, and the strategic location of the pre-school establishment in the neighbourhood.

This intercultural basis enabled the Yugoslavs to discover new dimensions in their own culture, to be proud of it and to want to share their experience. This enabled the Swedes to rediscover a threatened cultural heritage. The main difficulties encountered were in the co-operation between the Swedish and Yugoslav teaching staff. Conflict as a result of differing points of view is a possibility. Furthermore, as the teachers do not live in the neighbourhood they are unfamiliar with local needs and atmosphere. Yet for the migrant and native children, the neighbourhood is the place where they share cultural experience.

The experiment reported by R D Baynes was not really an intercultural project. The Stationers' Company's School in London became a multi-purpose school for a multi-cultural population only through an accident of history and had to adapt to the situation: introducing English courses for non-English speakers, co-operation with representatives of the countries of origin in organising mother tongue classes, taking into account new dimensions in religious education, the teaching of history, literature, remedial work. The parents' help is sought through the parents' association. The difficulties encountered are attributed to lack of stability in certain family backgrounds where there is only one parent, at institutional level through the absence of consensus concerning the nature of a multi-racial society. It may be suggested nevertheless that further development of the intercultural approach would make it possible to put in perspective the teaching provided in this multi-cultural school, sometimes regarded as uncertain, complicated and frustrating, and to give it some point.

The instruments of intercultural education

As part of the Council for Cultural Co-operation's bursaries scheme, Turkey annually organises a one-week course in Ankara for teachers of Turkish children in the host countries. From the point of view of teacher training, such seminars constitute an experiment in widening and deepening contacts between host country and country of origin.

The 1980 seminar described by H Binay comprised an introduction to the Turkish education system, from pre-school to secondary education and vocational training, school visits and participation in cultural events.

The visits proved particularly instructive because those taking part were able to meet children who had returned to the Turkish system after attending school abroad. This enabled them to tackle not only the problems of integrating migrant children in the host country, but also the problems of reintegration on return to the country of origin.

The mutual exchange was fruitful. The author suggests however, in order to make discussion more worthwhile, that the course members selected should have sufficient knowledge of the vehicular language of the course; the course should not be intended solely for educators dealing with Turkish children and participants should be provided with documentary material in advance.

As teacher training is an essential condition of the promotion of intercultural education, the French Ministry of Education has set up information and training centres for the schooling of migrant children. M Huart presents a course organised by the Grenoble CEFISEM. This was a seminar organised for both French and foreign teachers with the aims of improving the operation of mother tongue classes by including foreign teachers in the teaching teams and the organisation of school groups, and of promoting intercultural activities in the school. The seminar afforded an opportunity for exchanging ideas and for useful intercultural experience. Nevertheless, the administrative problems encountered (recruitment of participants, length of course) somewhat affected the conduct and effectiveness of the operation. The small number of native teachers limited the possibility for exchange; the shortness of the course made it difficult for participants to assimilate the concept of intercultural education and caused a risk of fragmentary "folksy" ideas of intercultural activities capable of being dealt with in school.

The experiment in co-operation between foreign and native teachers and in setting up an intercultural library in a primary school in Geneva (Switzerland), reported by P Cuesta de Gorgerat, L Mazza, S Quackernack-Magnin and M Schubauer-Leoni, also aimed at finding ways of providing contact between teachers and developing intercultural co-operation between native and migrant children. The library,

stocked with books in several languages and dealing with various cultures, becomes an important instrument of intercultural education, an ideal meeting place for children of different ages and cultures, a focal point, where, thanks to the helpfulness of the Spanish, Italian and native teachers, sometimes of parents, the children find attentive adults and can communicate in several languages. The experiment confirms that genuine contact between teachers of various cultures not equally recognised in the school takes time. To begin with both sides are on the defensive. The ones, themselves migrants, have been used to having to assert their identity and to defend their profession. The others, natives, without realising it, use the power conferred on them by their language. It has also proved that while co-operation between teachers seems to be the keystone in children's intercultural experience, there must also be real commitment on the part of the institution and real support from the relevant authorities as well as sufficient back-up in the form of teaching materials failing which it will run out of steam.

The "Thuisland" (country of origin) project presented by B J L Papendorp and J M J Teunissen deals precisely with the production of teaching aids. These are related to the culture of origin of the two most numerous migrant groups whose culture differs most from that of the Netherlands: Turks and Moroccans. They are intended for upper nursery school and lower primary school classes. They comprise a pupils' book in two languages and a card index for the teachers. The function of the first is primarily psychological. It provides the migrant children with concrete evidence of their culture (which they can themselves offer to their native schoolmates); for the Dutch children and parents, it affords an opportunity to discover unsuspected aspects of a different civilisation. The second gives teachers suggestions for activities to stimulate migrant children's interest and contributions and seeks to prompt co-operation from foreign teachers. This material is also designed to be used in classes where there are no foreign children, so as to prepare the native children for living in a multi-cultural society. The use of these aids forms part of an intercultural approach. This naturally has repercussions as regards teaching methods. It implies a change of outlook. It will produce good results, its authors say, only if similar changes occur in other sections of society, in terms of principles and practice.

The school in a network of community intercultural education schemes

The action research project carried out at St-Quentin-en-Yvelynes (France), a new town with a large foreign population, as reported by R Padrun, was conducted by IRFED* at the request of representatives of local bodies. The aim was to mount a comprehensive project reaching the whole of the population: children, adults, teachers, social workers, both native and foreign. From the outset, a relay network was set up so as to extend the scheme and publicise its results in the new town, to encourage and facilitate similar ventures, and to make available the

---

* Institute for Research on and Training for Development Education

educational and methodological material produced during the experiment. After an analysis of needs, considering that the positive effects of intercultural education would impinge on the success of the school as a whole and on families, a start was made by forming classes including two or three cultural communities (Franco-Portuguese/Franco-North African/Franco-North African-Portuguese groups), recruiting mother tongue teachers, breaking down divisions within education, organising intercultural discovery activities. Concertation between teachers developed, their attention being drawn to linguistic, socio-linguistic and psychological interference between languages and cultures. The parents were also involved in discussions about education. Through them and with assistance from the town's social services a network of exchanges, contacts and information was also established for adolescents and adults.

The "Samen Wonen, Samen Leven" project at Rotterdam (Holland), presented by S A Jonker, R Nijenhuis and R van der Velden, was initiated by neighbourhood social workers. The aim was to find out why a large number of foreigners had settled in the neighbourhood, to find out about their culture and way of life, to spread information and to establish intercultural relationships to turn this multi-cultural situation into an enriching experience for all. After its first year of activity, the scheme was evaluated by means of a survey of community representatives. This enabled the project to be reviewed and reorganised. The emphasis was then placed on producing intercultural teaching materials and on links between institutions prepared to co-operate and the staff provided by the Ministry of Education and the municipality, to intensify remedial activities for foreign children. The centre also organises activities (or initiates them and hands them over to neighbourhood bodies) for adolescents who have little contact with school.

The multi-cultural community education experiment at Broad Heath School in Coventry (United Kingdom), analysed by M Feeley, was sponsored by the local education authority. Based on a policy of community education, it showed that it was possible to involve even a very under-privileged community in the educational process and to provide effective education for a whole community on the basis of the primary school. To do this involved informing the population, combating racial prejudice, involving parents in school activities, developing a programme of activities for the community, making premises available to youth groups and adult associations. The incorporation into the curriculum of the principles of a multi-racial school entailed questioning personal, professional and even religious values of teachers trained to teach white, Christian, British children from middle class backgrounds. A balance had to be struck between the teachers' pedagogical and community functions. After a period of intense community activity while the scheme was being launched, the teaching team scaled-down its social involvement, enabling the community to take increasing charge of running the scheme.

"Intercultural education in primary schools: Werthauserstrasse, Duisburg-Rheinhausen and Bismarckstrasse, Krefeld" (Federal Republic of Germany)

Case study

by

Manfred Hohmann,

with

Fritz Wittek,
Anette Chmielorz,
Ingrid Gogolin

I. Introduction

Since the end of the second world war, the effects of labour migration have faced Germany, like other European countries, with an increasingly urgent political and educational challenge. Where the schooling of migrant workers' children is concerned, these problems have been tackled in many different ways in different countries, but they have been approached along two main lines: by introducing the foreign pupils to the language, culture and society of the host country and at the same time teaching the mother tongue in order to maintain the children's and their families' links with their native language and culture. The concrete institutional arrangements devised for this purpose in Germany - "preparatory" classes, bilingual classes, classes for foreign pupils following the "normal" German curriculum, and various forms of teaching in the mother tongue - have been subjected to increasing criticism in the latter 1970s. The main criticisms of these arrangements are that:

- they are unable to fulfil their twofold function of both enabling the children to fit into German society and the German school, and of maintaining their links with their native language and culture;

- they place an additional burden on the foreign pupils;

- their aims are to some extent contradictory, so that they hamper each other;

- they are not flexible enough to adapt readily to new requirements of second-generation migrants or to deal with the problem of ghetto schools in areas with a high proportion of immigrants;

- they ignore, or even completely deny, the fact that the effects of migration, such as demographic change and changes in living conditions in the host country, have made that society "multi-cultural" or "multi-racial".

This questioning of accepted structures and ways of doing things - which is not unparalleled in other immigration countries - is one of the arguments in favour of "intercultural education" which are attracting growing attention. This term, which seems first to have been used in connection with educational experiments in France and Great Britain, has since been taken over and elaborated upon theoretically in work carried out under the auspices of the Council of Europe (L Porcher, M Rey et al). This work prepared the way for subsequent efforts and developments in this field.

The approach to the case studies below owes much to the findings of that work. The main lines of approach can be summarised as follows: firstly, and fundamentally, "intercultural education" is in no way intended to replace the basic functions of reception teaching and mother tongue teaching by new pedagogical considerations; on the contrary, it seeks to deepen and widen existing concerns. In doing so, it emphasises the influence of the host culture and the culture of origin on each other. This factor will have to be taken more into account in both reception teaching and mother-tongue teaching and in statutory education provision for native children. It is a fact that the living conditions of all the groups involved - whether native or foreign - are changing and these changes entail providing conditions in which solutions can be found to the educational, social and cultural problems which result. Hence the definition of the target groups for intercultural education: such education is not concerned solely with foreign children and

their ability to cope with their position as immigrants, but also, on exactly the same footing, with native children and their ability to profit from this reality which we have called "multi-cultural".

The main guidelines for "intercultural education" - whatever their present degree of conceptualisation - must inevitably refer to this basic principle of strict equality, regardless of actual relative positions of strength, between all cultures. The main aim will accordingly be to preserve - or, to be more accurate, to create - unity of educational objectives and equality of opportunity for native and immigrant children. Where the objectives of "intercultural education" are concerned, it follows that the specific content of one culture must not be dealt with according to the criteria and values of the other, as this would be to regard the former as a lifeless object. On the contrary, what has to be done is to analyse the pattern of new socio-cultural reference systems that take shape under the impact of mutual cultural influences and to interpret it in appropriate terms. In addition, existing systems of values will have to be reviewed and extended so as to include dimensions which take the new situation into account. It may be mentioned at this point that this approach has considerable political implications and so has to be particularly carefully handled.

Lastly, it would be quite wrong to regard the reference systems in question as immutable entities: just as the host society undergoes changes as a result of the very presence of large groups of immigrants from very different societies and cultures, so too is the cultural identity of the new arrivals altered by the very fact of their migration. It will accordingly be impossible simply to take stock once and for all of the cultural situation, to draw clear demarcation lines or even to foresee changes in particular points. It is more a question of apprehending migrants' and natives' patterns of cultural interpretation, expression and orientation, both constantly changing, as so many reinterpretation and reorganisation processes in a new, shifting situation.

Where the school as an institution is concerned, this means that the principal field of reference for intercultural education will be the life experience of all children living in the host country, which is both its object and its objective. For such education geared to the need to "master the situation engendered by migration", it is of the first importance to adopt an open mind to any curriculum changes that might be suggested by the pupils, so as to avoid the trap of once again treating pupils - especially immigrant pupils - as objects. Hence the relevance of the proposals for "learner-centred teaching" to intercultural education.

Intercultural education is not be regarded as one more school subject, but rather as a fundamental principle underlying school activity as a whole. Consequently, an analysis needs to be made of the cultural dimensions of all school subjects, including those which, like science, are assumed to be culturally neutral - and, if necessary, to revise syllabi accordingly. It follows from the foregoing that the tasks for the future will include devising school organisation and teaching methods and modes of school life and learning which enables interculturalism to develop fully. Since it is not the sole aim, nor even perhaps the main aim, of intercultural education to communicate factual knowledge, the best way of teaching it may well prove to be project work. Project work affords the possibility of presenting situations and content in such a way that pupils can see that they are amenable to change, that they provide the raw material for possible ways of learning. The school will accordingly have to be required to make a critical

appraisal of its own standards, which are not only those of a particular social class, but are ethnocentric into the bargain. It will also have to re-examine, revise and broaden those standards in order to be able to offer all the children genuine development opportunities which are not confined to mere adjustment or even simply submission.

All this can be done only if both foreign and native teachers have adequate facilities for work and co-operation and if both groups of parents are able to take an active part in school and out-of-school activities. School activities must not be confined to the narrow framework of the school and of teaching itself, if the immigrant ghettos which are forming in many host countries' schools are not to be replaced by the illusion of an island of intercultural education. The teaching itself should endeavour to reach beyond the classroom and to encourage the development of lasting relationships between pupils, relationships capable of withstanding the pressure of real, objective conflict between cultures and different value systems, whether during the pupils' free time or later in their adult lives.

Real life examples of intercultural education have not hitherto followed the pattern outlined above. In Germany, the organisational framework best suited to education using intercultural content and method is - apart from mixed classes following the normal curriculum - the "common teaching" advocated by the Joint Committee of Ministers of Education since 1971 for native children and immigrant children attending "preparatory" classes. However, experience with this kind of teaching indicates that there are educational, administrative and political obstacles to be overcome if interculturalism is to become a reality and not mere ideological theorising. The following case studies discuss possible approaches. However, it would be wrong to expect to find "successful" examples which meet all the requirements outlined above and if for these case studies we have chosen two schools where teaching conditions are particularly difficult and which are consequently not fully representative of the work being done in the education of immigrant children, the reason is that these schools do give a clearer idea of the needs and possibilities than would have been possible in a "normal" situation. These schools have been chosen because they have tried to counter the imminent danger of school ghettos forming in industrial cities with a large immigrant population. This is still a problem in all European countries and it may be hoped that the description and analysis set out below will help initiate detailed and innovative debate.

II. Case studies

Note to the reader

The arrangements for foreign childrens' education in North Rhine-Westphalia are, briefly, as follows:

1. "Short-term preparatory classes", which are intended to prepare immigrant pupils for rapid integration - after two years' schooling at the most - into ordinary German classes. These pupils receive tuition in their mother tongue and German as a foreign language, and are taught together with German pupils in art and technical subjects.

2. "Long-term preparatory classes", which are made up of children of the same nationality and are open only to pupils starting compulsory schooling, who remain in these classes for between four and six years.

The curriculum includes tuition in their own language, German as a second language and common subjects. In the course of time, the proportion of teaching in the childrens' national language is reduced and the proportion of common teaching increased.

3. Direct integration into normal German classes, but with extra tuition.

Schools with extremely high numbers of foreign children in ordinary classes may, as a strictly exceptional measure, form so-called "separate" classes. Such classes are made up of pupils of the same nationality and follow the same curriculum as normal German classes.

Preliminary remark

The information set out in the following pages has been obtained by various means: we first tried to determine the external conditions governing school organisation and teaching. The queries arising from this were then discussed with school head teachers and other relevant staff. A second stage of direct observation was intended to complete and if necessary correct our view of conditions, difficulties and practical approaches as arrived at from the initial discussions. Observation of various lessons taken by German and/or foreign teachers and discussions with pupils, teachers, social workers and other people involved in out-of-school activities and, lastly, a visit to an out-of-school centre in Duisburg provided the basis for analysis of the information collected earlier.

A. DUISBURG-RHEINHAUSEN

1. External circumstances

The city of Duisburg, which includes the municipality of Rheinhausen, is located in North Rhine-Westphalia, one of Germany's most densely populated Länder. Most of Duisburg's heavy industry is in Rheinhausen, a community dominated by the Krupp steelworks, which recruits most of its labour locally; in fact virtually the whole population of Rheinhausen works at Krupps.

Werthauserstrasse, where the school we are concerned with is situated, runs through a neighbourhood built after the first world war and originally housed German workers at the Krupp steelworks. The first immigrant families, mainly Spanish, arrived in the early 1960s, during a period of full employment. As the demand for labour grew, German skilled workers moved to modern flats or houses, more foreign families, mainly Turkish, moved in from 1970 onwards. The houses, without bathrooms or central heating, which had not previously been occupied by more than one family, now accommodated two or three families each.

With the departure of the German residents and the arrival of increasing numbers of Turkish families a ghetto formed in which the Turks predominate (60%) and lend the neighbourhood its particular character. Seventy-five per cent of the local working population are employed at the Krupp steelworks, the immigrants almost exclusively as unskilled workers. Population census figures for Rheinhausen show a proportion of 20% craftsmen, office workers and supervisory staff and 5% tradesmen and professional people.

The formation of a Turkish ghetto led to growing numbers of foreign pupils in the neighbourhood primary school, and ways had to be found of coping with them. The two objectives set by North Rhine-Westphalia's legislation governing the school education of migrant workers' children, viz integration into the host society and, at the same time, maintenance of the language and culture of origin - were increasingly questioned; today this school tries rather to encourage the foreign children's integration into the host society on the one hand and, on the other, to highlight the problems of the situation generated by migration.

In this particular school, the problem has a distinctive Turkish flavour: whereas in 1968 only 23 pupils out of a total of 228 were foreign, 19 of which were Spanish, at the beginning of the 1980/81 school year the same school numbered 475 children, including 374 of non-German nationality: the German pupils are now in a minority. Of the 374 foreign pupils, 352 are Turkish, 16 Spanish, two Dutch, two Yugoslavian, one Italian and two Bolivian. Accordingly, there is no longer any preparatory class for Spanish children.

The Duisburg City Schools Inspectorate decided against dispersion as practised in other towns in North Rhine-Westphalia, in order not to separate the immigrant families geographically from the schools attended by their children, in order to be able subsequently to reduce the gap between school and family, school and society.

However, the only way of preventing the proportion of foreign children from exceeding 74% was to enrol two whole classes of Turkish children in neighbouring schools which otherwise faced imminent closure owing to insufficient numbers of pupils. (This phenomenon is observed in one or two places in North Rhine-Westphalia, where schools are able to avoid closure only by admitting immigrant children to beginners' classes.) Furthermore, school catchment areas have been revised twice since 1972 in order to reduce proportions of immigrant children. A planned third review was dropped because the head teacher was anxious that the pupils' daily travelling distances should not be made excessively long. These distances do not now exceed 800 metres.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, schools with large numbers of immigrant pupils enjoy an "immigrants premium" in the form of additional teaching staff: one additional post per 85 immigrant children. Under this scheme, four and a half additional posts have been allocated to Werthauserstrasse, but at the time of the survey only two and a half of these were actually filled, since one teacher was on maternity leave and one co-head teacher had not been appointed. In all, the school staff numbers 25, including five Turks and one Spanish teacher. Four of the German staff are part-time and one Turkish member of staff comes to the school for only four hours per week. All the teachers admit to having been reluctant to work with Turkish pupils to begin with, but all are now very satisfied with their jobs.

Cramped premises are a major difficulty. For 24 classes, there are only 17 rooms, some small, others are no more than partitioned-off corners and ends of corridors. However, the time-table has been so arranged as to avoid having any "wandering" classes, that is to say every class has its own "home" classroom.

2. The project itself

a. School organisation and teaching methods

Pupils are allocated to classes according to the following criteria: those of the Turkish children who are able to follow teaching in German without difficulty are placed directly in a German class to follow the normal curriculum. Since there is only one class in the school composed entirely of German pupils, the other classes following an entirely normal curriculum, which include between 20 and 30% of foreign children, are called "international classes". In addition to the teaching normally provided, Turkish pupils in these classes receive four hours tuition in Turkish per week, all in the mornings. This is made possible by using hours at the beginning or end of the morning. While the Turkish children are receiving tuition in their mother tongue, their German classmates are free. In this way, the Turkish pupils do not miss any normal lessons. Although this teaching represents an additional work-load, all the Turkish pupils in the international classes attend. The subjects taught are Turkish language, history and geography, plus religious instruction.

In addition, the school has received increasing numbers of requests from Turkish parents for their children to attend one of these classes, from the beginning of compulsory schooling.

Other arrangements are made for Turkish pupils with difficulties in German. These pupils are placed in exclusively Turkish classes, which nonetheless follow the normal German curriculum. For these classes, the timetable is split into two blocks, with twice as much tuition in German as in Turkish. The whole of each block is taught by the same German or Turkish teacher, except for physical education, so that the children have to get used to only three different teachers throughout the school year. The German teacher teaches German as a foreign language, mathematics and discovery subjects, while the Turkish teacher teaches the same subjects as in the international classes. The statutory common teaching intended to enable immigrant and German pupils to cement collective bonds is provided in this school, owing to the large number of foreign children, only during the first two years of compulsory schooling and only in art subjects and physical education. On these occasions, Turkish and international classes are combined for lessons in one of the two subjects. The foreign teachers play an active part: one Turkish teacher takes art and his Spanish colleague physical education.

Lastly the Turkish pupils who speak little or no German are formed into small groups for intensive German instruction. Because of the high number of new arrivals, this intensive remedial teaching is organised on a continuing basis. For the pupils themselves, however, it is transitional, the aim being to fit them into the Turkish classes quickly. The system is flexible enough to enable pupils who have acquired sufficient knowledge of German to fit into the Turkish classes at any time in the year and to allow additional remedial groups to be formed when there is a sudden increase in the number of new arrivals. For instance, 31 new arrivals were dealt with in the first two months of the 80/81 school year alone.

The school's 24 classes are made up as follows: 16 Turkish classes following the normal curriculum (four classes per age group):

first year: one exclusively German class, one international class;

second year: one international class;

third year: one international class;

fourth year: two international classes;

in addition, there are two intensive remedial groups and two nursery classes with 32 children.

For purposes of genuine co-operation between German and Turkish teachers, there are weekly age-group staff meetings. All the teachers for a given age group are required to attend to discuss curriculum alignment and the application of German curricula. The fact that, in the course of a particular school year, the Turkish teachers teach classes of only one age-group has made it easier for them all to become familiar with the corresponding German curricula. The school district has one experienced German teacher working as an adviser with responsibility for in-service training for foreign teachers.

b. Curriculum aspects

Special activities in the curriculum field mainly concern pupils in the Turkish classes and in the intensive remedial groups. Remedial provision primarily concerns the teaching of German as a foreign language, the courses in use being "Ali, Bella und Carlos lernen Deutsch" and, experimentally, "Sprich mit uns!". The Turkish classes also use "Komm bitte!". The Turkish pupils in the international classes follow the normal German language curriculum from the outset.

It is language teaching that is most affected by co-operation between German and foreign teachers. For instance, writing is no longer taught, as it used to be, using cursive script in German and printed letters in Turkish; the same cursive script is used for both languages. Consultation between teachers seeks to ensure progression at the same rate in both languages. Furthermore, the posters used to explain the letters of the alphabet are bilingual and used for both languages.

Foreign teachers taking mathematics in the mother tongue try to make things easier for their pupils to follow maths in German by introducing the specialist vocabulary. In the Turkish classes, Turkish religion, history and geography are taught according to the Turkish syllabus. Teachers of both nationalities, while using Turkish or German textbooks, also devise their own teaching materials. The use of media is also co-ordinated in the teaching in both German and the foreign language. German teaching in particular relies on audio-visual aids to overcome the Turkish pupils' difficulties. This is seen as a way of avoiding undue restriction of choice of subject matter because of the language difficulties it might entail. At the same time, the use of audio-visual material in teaching the mother tongue is intended to reduce learning difficulties among Turkish pupils. The high proportion in the Turkish classes of children from intensive remedial groups makes it necessary to make frequent use of various forms of group teaching, especially for teaching in German, and for German as a foreign language, mathematics and discovery subjects. In order to avoid continuous alternation between the two languages, the children are always given several lessons consecutively in the same language.

c. After-school and out-of-school activities

Two Kinderschutzbund (1) workers supervise homework at school on three afternoons a week. Attendance by the children is voluntary. Similar arrangements are available for pupils in the fourth year - the last of the primary course: for them, however, supervision is provided by one of the school's teachers, who in this way helps ease the transition for them from primary to secondary school.

The activities of a neighbouring youth centre, which offers both German and immigrant youngsters a wide range of leisure activities may be regarded as out-of-school socio-educational work. These activities range from woodwork and art via sport and disco afternoons or evenings (according to age) to music lessons (guitar, recorder - or saz for the Turkish children) and are intended to assist the integration, not the Germanisation, of the immigrant children. However, with the increase in numbers of Turkish children attending, now over 50%, the number of German children has fallen. It has not been discovered why attendance by Turkish children falls on certain days. Do they attend Koran lessons, of which there is no shortage in the neighbourhood, or do they attend parallel classes in their mother tongue which are organised on some afternoons in the week because other schools in the neighbourhood do not provide "integrated" mother-tongue tuition?

Co-operation between the youth centre and the Werthauserstrasse school is ensured through the employment at the centre of a Turkish teacher from the school who is at the same time Vice-Chairman of a club for German and foreign children. This club is run entirely by volunteers who meet every six weeks and play a key role in planning the youth centre's activities. They organise open days and also maintain contacts with other cultural centres in the town. It would seem that the foreign parents take more interest in these activities than the German parents.

The activities of the centre, in so far as they involve foreign parents, are a valuable complement to the measures taken by the school itself to familiarise immigrant children and their parents with their new environment. Activities designed to interest immigrant parents in their children's education and to involve them in school activities in general include invitiations to Turkish mothers to attend literacy courses or simply to come and have tea at the school on certain afternoons during the week. Conscientious efforts by the head teacher and some of the staff have attracted large numbers of Turkish parents to parents' meetings. The best example of the foreign parents' interest in school affairs is the active participation by two immigrants as parents' representatives at meetings of the school council. In this context, the election of a Turkish mother as parents' representative is particularly remarkable.

3. Difficulties

The main difficulties are ones of organisation. The "immigrants premium" in the form of four-and-a-half additional teaching posts has sufficed only - in part, at least - to remedy the shortage of staff due to the fact that the

---

(1) Association for the Protection of Children.

staffing regulations are designed for normal schools catering only for German children. Furthermore, the number of all-German or mainly German classes is much smaller than the number of purely Turkish classes, so that the organisation of common tuition according to the procedures laid down in the regulations - viz splitting classes half-and-half - is difficult, not to say impossible.

The lack of teaching materials with which to provide parallel teaching in the two languages places exceptional demands on the commitment and talent for improvisation of all the school's staff. The obligation to teach Turkish children according to normal class curricula, ie according to German curricula, causes special problems because of gaps in the Turkish pupils' knowledge of German and other subjects. In addition, the virtually continuous need to fit in new arrivals into these classes gives rise to further difficulties. Problems of a different kind face the Turkish teachers who have to try to bring their style of teaching more into line with that of their German colleagues. Here, the staff meetings can provide valuable assistance through discussion of any differences in style. On the other hand, thanks to co-operation among the teachers and the congenial atmosphere in the school pupils who have experienced the various styles of teaching since entering school have come to accept them as of equal value and to follow the teaching of exponents of both with equal attention.

The Turkish children's language difficulties make it hard for them to assimilate the subject matter being taught. In some subjects, the Turkish classes progress less quickly than the international classes in the same age-group. So far, despite after-school help with homework etc these gaps subsist. Because of language difficulties - which vary according to the degree of abstraction involved in the subject concerned - subject-matter has to be carefully selected for its level of difficulty and presented by means of audio-visual aids. For pupils in the international classes, mother-tongue lessons represent an additional workload.

The development of direct contacts between German and foreign pupils continues to cause problems. While contacts in the playground and during shared lessons are a first step and the German children learn a few Turkish words here and there (eg numbers) and use them when playing together, "international friendships" remain the exception. In addition, for many German parents, the high proportion of immigrant pupils in the school is a completely new situation with which they have difficulty in coming to terms. It is up to the head teacher and his staff to explain to them what the school does and make them understand the possibilities and opportunities which the presence of foreign children can represent for their own children.

4. Successes and failures

The degree of co-operation between teachers, both through personal commitment and through the weekly age-group staff meetings, is in itself a success. The frequency of these staff meetings facilitates integration of the foreign teachers into the staff as well as the gradual definition of realistic objectives and their conscientious pursuit by all concerned. The first results of this co-operation have included, as regards the teaching of writing, the use by teachers of different nationalities of the same cursive script, the use of a bilingual letter chart and, later, in the teaching of other subjects, the co-ordinated introduction of technical terms in both languages. Through the help which the German teachers give

their foreign colleagues and through the latter's determination to improve their own qualifications it has become possible for the foreign teachers to take some of the common lessons and so to create contacts between German pupils and foreign teachers.

The positive reaction shown by Turkish pupils to the differences in teaching styles confirms the interculturalist approach whereby the coexistence of different nationalities with equal rights and of equal value in a given framework is perfectly possible.

By time-tabling mother-tongue lessons for Turkish pupils in the international classes in the mornings, the school has shown its receptive attitude towards the other culture, at the same time proving that such integration is possible without the children having to forego parts of the normal curriculum.

Close co-operation between the school and the youth centre has also borne fruit, highlighting the enriching effect which out-of-school activities can have when co-ordinated with the work of the school itself.

The activities of the school, made possible by the outstanding commitment of the head teacher, have prompted the foreign parents, and not only their children, to become familiar with the school, thus gradually breaking down barriers between the immigrants and their host society. The active presence of foreign parents in school participatory bodies, their attendance at parents' meetings and at school festivities are ample evidence that it is possible to arouse and stimulate the foreign parents' interest in the German school. The school being geographically situated in the middle of the neighbourhood where the parents live, it may be possible to get them to identify with the school, as may be seen from the successful election of a Turkish mother to represent the parents.

The German parents' reactions to this situation are varied and even contradictory. Some try to enrol their children at other primary schools; some realise the new opportunities open to their children. In addition to intercultural broadening of their horizons, the German children also benefit from the extra staff and materials which the school enjoys through the "immigrants premium".

An oft debated structural problem is again highlighted by the fact that these special measures have not succeeded in securing more rapid progress - in German as a foreign language or in other subjects - among the Turkish pupils. The Werthauserstrasse school is no more able than others to prevent the immigrant pupils' massive drift towards the less highly thought of branches of secondary education. In 1979-80, of 112 pupils reaching secondary school age, only three foreign children (one Spanish and two Turkish) went to grammar school. The help with homework provided voluntarily for 4th-year pupils by one member of the school's staff is undoubtedly a positive element but cannot be entirely successful unless started at an earlier age. It is too early to assess the effect of evening homework help provided by volunteers from the Kinderschutzbund, but it may be wondered whether they have the necessary teaching skills to deal with the specific difficulties of foreign children. It is a pity that it is not possible, owing to already heavy workloads, to organise extra tuition provided jointly by German and foreign teachers. In the present situation, the foreign teachers are never able to sit in on lessons taught in German, to introduce and consolidate the specialised vocabulary. Specific remedial help for individual pupils with difficulties

in particular subjects is impossible in such circumstances. Another major task facing the school is the development and expansion of contacts between German and immigrant pupils and parents. Here, the teachers' commitment and receptiveness towards intercultural communication and education give reason to hope that realistic objectives may be defined and achieved.

B. KREFELD

1. External circumstances

Krefeld, an industrial city of 230,000 inhabitants, lies on the left bank of the Rhine close to Düsseldorf, the capital of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the Ruhr cities of Duisburg, Essen and Oberhausen. Krefeld's industrial growth did not begin until the 1930s. Until then, small and medium-sized textile firms had predominated, but their place has now been taken by major steel and chemical concerns. This economic change has been accompanied by a change in population: the proportionof unskilled workers has grown and fluctuations in the population have increased.

Quickening structural change in Krefeld's economy has been accompanied since the 1960s by the arrival of immigrant labour. In 1965, there were 5,800 foreigners (2.6% of the population) in Krefeld, less than half of them from manpower-supplying countries. Since then the proportion has grown continuously. At the end of 1978, 9.6% of the population were immigrants, mainly from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Spain and Portugal, the six countries with which Germany had concluded recruitment agreements. Over one-third of the foreign population is from Turkey.

These demographic changes necessitated measures for the schooling of the migrants' children. When these measures were worked out, the uneven distribution of the immigrant population, over 50% living in or near the town centre, was a major factor giving advance warning that in the relevant schools the proportion of foreigners would soon exceed 50% while remaining close to zero elsewhere. Population forecasts showed that the proportion of Turkish children would exceed 50% of all foreign pupils. Two major questions faced the municipality.

- Could the schools absorb such proportions of foreign pupils without standards falling?

- Could the problems arising out of the concentration of the foreign population in a small number of school catchment areas be resolved by the schools in those areas alone, or ought a durable system be devised for spreading the foreign pupils throughout all or most of the town's schools?

To answer this question, in agreement with the Land, the town mounted a pilot project to test a system of distributing foreign pupils as evenly as possible throughout all the town's schools as a way of assisting their integration into the normal German school system, without harming the legitimate interests of the German children. This pilot project, which started in August 1975 and ended on 31 July 1979, was carried out in three primary schools, including the one dealt with in this study, namely the Bismarckstrasse primary school.

From the organisational point of view, the project's main features are as follows:

- New foreign entrants are directly allocated to classes following the normal curriculum, so-called "integration classes";

- the percentage of foreign children in integration classes must not exceed 30%;

- apart from German children, integration classes take children of only one foreign nationality;

- for foreign pupils in these classes, the teaching of their mother tongue is fitted into the normal time-table;

- as a rule, foreign schoolchildren attend a school in their own neighbourhood, unless they have to be transferred to another school close by to avoid exceeding the 30% ceiling. In such cases, school buses are provided.

The pilot project also involved:

- scientific evaluation;

- the appointment of one project director, three child welfare specialists (x), three additional teachers and auxiliary staff;

- additional funds to purchase or develop teaching materials and to provide suitable conditions (space and time) in the schools concerned.

The pilot project was intended, through the experience of mutual exchange, to favour the development of abilities conducive to integration on both sides, in both German and immigrant pupils. With this in mind, the foreign children in mixed learning groups were supposed to acquire assurance through an initial socio-integrative phase at the beginning of the first year of primary school. In addition to intensive tuition in German as a foreign language and in their mother tongue, they were to be assisted by socio-pedagogical support. Other key features of the project were close co-operation between age-group teachers, between German and foreign teachers, between teachers and child welfare specialists and social work with the parents of foreign children, aimed at getting them to play an active part in their children's school life.

When the project ended in July 1979 special schemes benefiting the foreign children and parents had to be cut back because the additional funds and staff were no longer available. Nevertheless, the general pattern continued to apply at the Bismarckstrasse primary school.

---

(1) Der Oberstadtdirektor der Stadt Krefeld (Hrsg.): Ausländische Kinder an den Grundschulen in Krefeld. Grundschulprojekt: Innere und äussere Differenzierung im Primarbereich und bei hohem Ausländeranteil. Krefeld 1979

(x) "Sozialpädagogen": specialists in "out-of-school education" for children and adolescents. Special fields include nursery teaching, educational guidance, probation work, etc.

The school is situated in a comfortable middle-class residential neighbourhood of individual houses and some appartment blocks. There are few foreign families in the neighbourhood; most of them do not come from the manpower-supplying countries and are also middle-class.

The school has 386 pupils, including 79 Turkish and seven of other nationalitiies. The families of these seven live in the neighbourhood, whilst the Turkish pupils come from some 2-3 km away, where over 50% of families are immigrants and over half of these Turkish. In one street, 70% of families are Turkish. The Turkish pupils are transported to the school at fixed times from a small number of gathering points; the bus is free. The bus time-table is co-ordinated with that of the school.

During the pilot project, the Turkish children were recruited from among volunteer Turkish families all over the town. As Krefeld had set itself the long-term objective of spreading the foreign pupils among virtually all the town's schools, central arrangements were necessary for allocating pupils to particular schools. Consequently, where primary schools and their secondary extensions (Hauptschule) are concerned, foreign parents no longer have a free choice of schools in Krefeld unless they opt out of mother-tongue teaching for their children.

The school has a staff of 18, including three part-time. Of these, two are Turkish, one full-time and one part-time, working eight hours a week. The "immigrants premium" referred to in the previous case study is included in this figure. During the pilot project, the Turkish teachers worked full-time in this school, which also had the full-time services of one child welfare specialist, who now divides her time between three schools.

The school has only the same teaching and learning resources as are generally used in North Rhine-Westphalia. German as a foreign language is taught mainly by the audio-visual "Sprich mit uns" method; reading and writing in the mother tongue are still taught using the methods devised for keeping German and Turkish language teaching parallel during the pilot project, viz "Ilk Okuma Kitabum" and "Programli Metotli Ilk Okuma, Calisma Defterim". Additional material for teaching the mother tongue and German as a foreign language is being produced by the teachers themselves according to present requirements. The materials used in integrated teaching for both German and Turkish children is generally the same as for normal German classes, adapted by the teachers themselves for use with mixed learning groups.

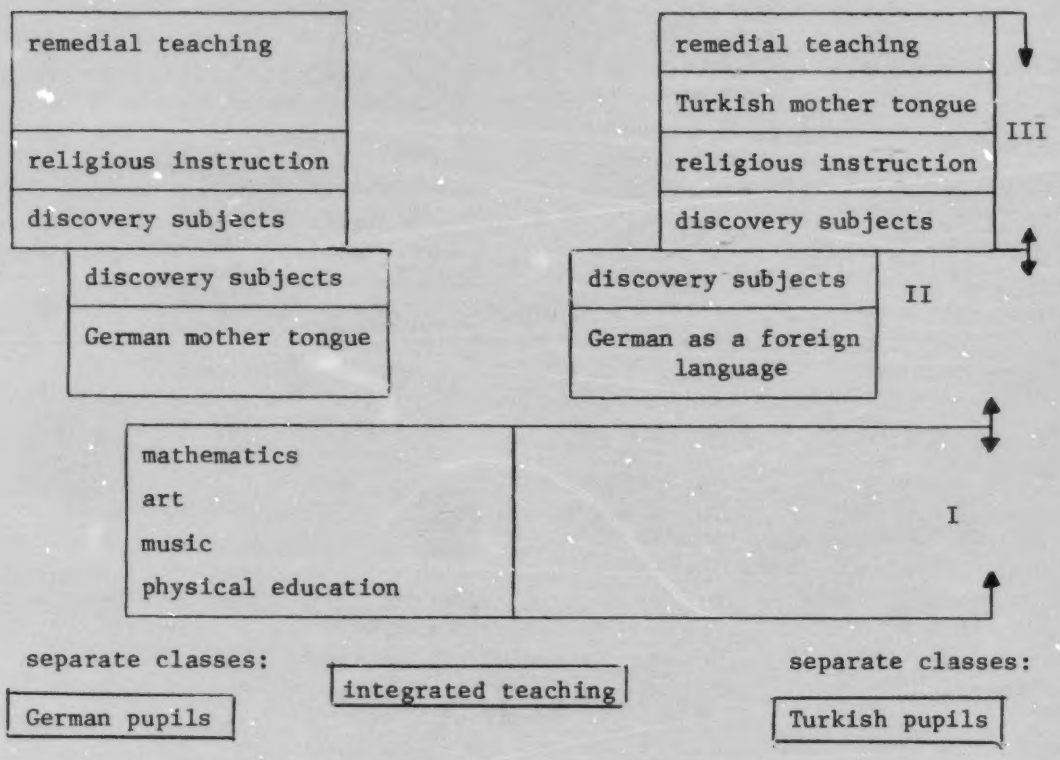
The school is well equipped in premises, a few temporary buildings having been added to the main premises, themselves relatively new. Every class has its own room and the number of specialist classrooms is also sufficient.

2. The project itself

According to the structure of the pilot project as described above, the Turkish children allocated to the school are fitted straight into normal-curriculum classes. The average proportion of Turkish children per class being fixed at 25%, classes normally number 25 pupils, with six Turkish children. It was also decided not to allocate new arrivals to this school.

In the first year, the school has four integration classes. Children from these classes are combined in one group for teaching Turkish.

In the pilot project schools, the time-table is made up as follows:



I: Subjects taught in integrated classes from the outset

II: Subjects taught in integrated classes as from the second or third year of school

III. Subjects taught separately throughout the primary course.

(Source: 1, p. 29)

The Bismarckstrasse school has kept to this pattern, but some changes have had to be made owing to the reduction in staff. Category III subjects are taught entirely by teachers of the same nationality as the children, whereas in category II teachers of both nationalities share the teaching of discovery subjects between them. German as a foreign language and subjects in category I are taught entirely by German teachers; for physical education, the German teachers may be assisted by their Turkish colleagues as necessary.

Taken as whole, the various parts of the scheme are arranged as follows:

Integration classes are a permanent feature throughout the four years of primary school; however, the proportion of integrated teaching for Turkish and German children varies from one stage to another. The first six weeks of school are intended to serve primarily to create social ties between pupils and enable them to get accustomed to the forms of school life and teaching. The class teacher, the specialist for German as a foreign language, the Turkish teachers and the child welfare specialist work out and jointly put into effect an activity-centred teaching programme comprising games and activities designed to encourage the development of social contacts

but also to familiarise the Turkish pupils, who have not normally previously attended school at all, to some extent with German as the language of instruction and with certain classroom techniques and forms of behaviour.

After this shared initiation phase, pupils are divided into separate classes and separate groups within classes. Category I subjects are taught by German teachers from the outset in integrated classes. An attempt is made to cope with the Turkish pupils' language difficulties - particularly noticeable in mathematics, by means of group teaching. For this purpose, extensive use is made - especially during the first two years - of audio-visual teaching aids, partly produced by the teachers themselves. Nevertheless, the Turkish pupils generally learn more slowly and, in order that they should not be left too far behind, they are given extra lessons in their mother tongue in small groups of six to eight pupils. The mathematical content of these lessons is discussed and decided on jointly by the relevant teachers of both nationalities. In addition, the Turkish teacher tries to consolidate knowledge of mathematical terms in both languages.

Category II subjects are taught in separate groups for the first three years. In German, the Turkish pupils are taught German as a foreign language by German teachers while the German pupils at the same time follow German lessons according to the normal German syllabus. Other category II subjects are also taught in separate groups, following the German syllabus for the German pupils, whilst the Turkish pupils concentrate on their own country's history and geography. Towards the end of the second year, some discovery subjects are taught in integrated courses and here an attempt is made to counter the effects of language difficulties by the use of group teaching and audio-visual aids.

Category III subjects are taught separately throughout the primary course. In religious instruction, this is done because of the legal requirement that Moslem and Greek Orthodox children must be taught in their mother tongue according to their home country's syllabus. Teaching in Turkish is intended primarily to maintain the childrens' "linguistic and cultural identity" (1), page 30. However, an effort is made, through consultation between German and Turkish teachers, to co-ordinate subject matter and where possible teaching methods in Turkish and in German as a foreign language, so that the teaching of the mother tongue may fulfil the additional function of preparing or consolidating the Turkish pupils' integration. This is especially important with regard to the teaching of reading and writing, where on the one hand the Turkish teacher has adapted her methods to the teaching principles of the German primary school and, on the other hand, the German teacher introduces German graphemes, contrastively, only after their Turkish counterparts have been taught.

In addition to the "conventional" arrangements outlined above, after-school support is provided, although it has had to be considerably reduced in quantitative terms since the end of the pilot project. This support work is provided by the child welfare specialist and, on a voluntary basis, by teachers and parents. For second-year pupils recreation is organised on one afternoon a week; for third and fourth-year pupils there are two recreational and working afternoons per week, used half for help with homework (provided by German teachers) and half for games (run by German parents). From the point of view of intercultural education, a weekly games hour forming part of the normal time-table for first year pupils is of special significance.

---

(1) op. cit.

This programme run by the child welfare specialist is intended mainly for the Turkish pupils; however the German pupils are also expected to take part, in order to develop capacity for communication and "intercultural" social contact. The child welfare specialist, in consultation with the teachers of both nationalities, draws up work programmes every three months. The main aims of these programmes are as follows:

- For purposes of language development, games are organised which rely on more or less elementary communication patterns or which involve devising and handling meta-linguistic game rules.

- To enhance the childrens' motor abilities, apart from games specifically devised to remedy deficiencies in fine motor skills, there are games involving simple handicraft techniques that can be used in the school, such as painting, pasting, assembling materials, etc.

- The third category of games is intended to develop the children's knowledge of school subjects. For instance, to help them with their mathematics, the children play with numbers, quantities, shapes and colours.

These games hours are held in a special room set aside for the purpose, which is equipped with games materials and exercises, some of which were purchased out of the pilot project budget, the remainder being donated by the German and Turkish parents.

3. Difficulties

From the organisational point of view, there is an absence of flexibility in time-tabling, which depends on the school-bus arrival and departure times. Short-term time-table changes consequently become impossible. As, since the end of the pilot project, the school now has only one full-time Turkish teacher and only four teachers to teach German as a foreign language, unforeseen staff absences - for health or other reasons - usually mean that classes simply have to be cancelled.

For the pupils, according to the teachers, the following difficulties arise:

- As already stated, the school no longer recruits its Turkish pupils on the basis of voluntary enrolment, but they are allocated centrally by the town's school authorities. One of the results of this new composition of the school population is that the group of pupils thus allocated to the school show considerably greater backwardness in terms of language performance, socialisation and motor skills. The increased remedial teaching which this entails has become impossible because of loss of staff at the end of the pilot project.

- The measures taken do not seem effectively to eliminate the backwardness of the Turkish pupils either in language or in other subjects. This observation is corroborated by the very small number of Turkish pupils going on to the higher branches of secondary education. The same is true with regard to Turkish fourth-year pupils unable to follow integrated German teaching, a state of affairs which has not been altered by continued remedial teaching in this subjects. The staff

have also found gaps in the Turkish pupils' knowledge of other subjects; one reason seems to be the failure to improve the specialised vocabulary required for certain other subjects.

- In some subjects, immediate integration involves selecting subject matter according to the Turkish pupils' motor, linguistic and social deficiencies. This can lead to a lowering of standards by comparison with schools which do not have the same difficulties.

- "Busing" makes it difficult, not to say impossible, to develop social contacts between German and Turkish pupils during free afternoons. According to the teaching staff, such contacts are very much the exception. Living in a ghetto, the Turkish children also have little contact with other German children.

All the school's teachers deplore the lack of adequate teaching materials. There is a complete absence of materials suitable for an approach based on co-ordinating content and method in two separate courses. There is also a shortage of materials suitable for group teaching within the same class. Consequently, the teachers are obliged to produce their own materials, which is bad for morale: the time required, which is substantial even in ideal conditions, is increased by the need for consultation between colleagues and the range of skills required sometimes exceeds their abilities.

Another problem is that the teaching staff are generally not trained for the purpose. During the pilot project, the school's generous staffing and the support provided made it possible to offer individual help and advice, to arrange for in-service training and to arrange co-operation between all the teachers concerned through working party meetings and visits to each other's classes during normal working hours. Such possibilities now no longer exist and personal devotion on the part of the staff has become the only basis for the co-operation which is indispensable. Visits by teachers to each other's classes are no longer possible without cancelling the visiting teacher's class, as the school has no replacement staff.

As regards the involvement of Turkish pupils' parents in their children's school life, problems have also arisen because of the reduction in staff and the centralised allocation of pupils. During the pilot project, the child welfare specialist took charge of relations between the school and the Turkish parents; she was able to devote a substantial part of her time to visiting families in their homes. In addition, she arranged meetings at the school itself, according to parents' requirements and on appointment. As she is no longer available for such duties, relations with the Turkish parents are now primarily conducted by the Turkish teachers and those of the German teachers who can find the time to do so outside working hours. Two additional factors are as follows: firstly, the group of foreign parents is no longer composed of "volunteers" who have freely chosen to enrol their children in the pilot project schools; it may be therefore that the parents' interest in co-operating with the school is no longer the same. Secondly, such co-operation is not facilitated by the distance between the school and their homes.

4. Successes and failures

One of the questions which the pilot project was intended to answer was whether schools with no foreign pupils in their catchment area are able to cope with a relatively large number of immigrant children. Our observations

at the Bismarckstrasse school indicate that the answer is positive, provided that they are given sufficient staff and resources and can call on expert advice in case of needs. This conclusion is based on the following observations:

One of the aims of the pilot project was to intensify co-operation between the staff concerned, so as to provide mutual support and ensure parallel teaching. While such co-operation has been deprived of its institutional basis since the pilot project came to an end, it continues nevertheless - to a lesser extent and with considerable organisational obstacles - thanks to the devotion of the teaching staff, and a great deal of the school's success is due to such co-operation.

One Turkish teacher offers a particularly striking example of the potential of such co-operation: without having received any formal in-service training whatever in Germany, simply by frequently visiting the German teachers' classes and seeking their advice, she acquired teaching and method skills equivalent to those of teachers trained in Germany. In addition, by the same methods, this teacher acquired such a knowledge of German that she is able, in the extra maths lessons for Turkish children, for example, to revise the specialist terminology in both languages. Lastly, this same teacher keeps her German colleagues informed about the socialisation and language problems of the Turkish children, thus providing them with indispensable information about the group of pupils with whom they have to deal.

Class observation reveals other successes due to co-operation between teachers, as in the sphere of mother-tongue teaching and the teaching of German as a foreign language. Thanks to the efforts made to provide effective consultation on method and parallel subject matter, mother-tongue teaching can be given - in addition to its function of maintaining the language and culture of the home country - a bridging function which is of great importance in relation to the intercultural content of integrated classes. In this way, the Turkish children are spared the constant "migration between two worlds" which is so often observed where Turkish teachers in Germany teach only the Turkish curriculum, using the teaching style which they acquired in Turkey. However, the teachers concerned at this school are still looking for suitable methods, especially as regards a parallel approach to the teaching of reading and writing. The approach so far adopted is confined to contrasting German and Turkish script and does not take into account the learning difficulties with which Turkish pupils have to deal because of differences in phonation between the two languages.

Another positive result of co-operation between teachers is to be found in the extra tuition provided by the Turkish teacher for Turkish children. Thanks to the small size of the groups, made up only of pupils belonging to the same integration class, intensive consultation is possible between the teachers concerned. They can then deal with the specific difficulties of different pupils in terms of the subjects taught in integration classes, by reducing the experience of failure and going on to build up confidence among the Turkish pupils, in order to encourage friendly co-operation between Turkish and German pupils.

A further result of the exchanges and visits between all teachers during the pilot project was that the efforts to constantly improve social practices in class engendered further measures conducive to co-operation between German and non-German pupils. These measures included group work in which German

and foreign pupils worked together, talking amongst themselves, helping each other and developing relationships not between individual children but between mixed groups of children.

The other key objectives of the pilot project included the integration of foreign pupils into the normal German system, following the normal curriculum. The measures taken for this purpose have produced fairly clear effects: during our observation of the integration classes it was scarcely possible any longer to identify the Turkish pupils as such. The same applies to communication between teachers and pupils, where no difference of any kind was found between German and Turkish pupils.

One reason for these successes may be seen in the school's staffing situation. The child welfare specialist's activities enabled the children of both nationalities to establish social contacts through play; furthermore, these activities, and the work in small groups, enabled the Turkish children's socialisation deficits to be overcome individually and systematically.

However, the results we have described show shortcomings if compared to the standards of the "intercultural hypothesis". A key element in intercultural education is to enable both groups of pupils to master the new situation resulting from migration. Psychological measures are not sufficient in themselves to achieve this aim. It must be said that little has been done at the Bismarckstrasse school to teach the German pupils more about the migrants' situation. Also, intercultural education would seek to develop personal relations between the two groups of pupils outside school. The decision to distribute Turkish pupils among several schools and the resulting transport arrangements make it difficult to pursue this aim. According to the school staff, there are no contacts of this kind outside school. Most of the pupils allocated to the school live in streets where the Turkish population exceeds 70%, so that they have little chance of forming friendships with German children of their own age.

Another aim of the pilot project - which is also important from the point of view of intercultural education - was to encourage immigrant parents to play an active part in their children's schooling. Once again, the school-bus system is in conflict with a major objective of the scheme. Even while the pilot project was in progress, the teachers observed that the Turkish parents lived a long way from the school. According to the staff, integration of these parents was possible only when contacts could be arranged individually to suit the parents' needs. At that time, the child welfare specialist's time-table was such that this could be done and the foreign families could be visited in their own homes. No opposition to the German school was observed among the Turkish parents; the interest they showed in preparing school festivities seems rather to indicate the opposite. The conclusion must be that the distance between the school and their homes prevents spontaneous contact. Now that the staff has been reduced following the end of the pilot project, the school is no longer able to maintain individual contact with parents, which has practically put an end to co-operation between school and parents. The active participation by foreign parents in school participatory bodies has ceased; parents rarely still visit the school.

III. Conclusions

Intercultural education has to overcome the isolation of foreign pupils. This is particularly difficult where there are discrepancies between school catchment areas and the neighbourhoods where large numbers of immigrants live. The resulting discrepancies between educational theory and social reality can hardly be overcome by educational means alone. Nevertheless, it seems possible, in the context of the principles underlying the "intercultural hypothesis", to draw some conclusions from these two case studies.

Being faced with different external conditions, the two schools arrived at quite different solutions. In Krefeld, the course adopted was to reduce the number of foreign pupils per school and hence to spread them among several schools, using school buses. At the Duisburg school, on the other hand, it was decided not to make the school remote from the residential neighbourhood and to accept a school with a very high proportion of immigrant pupils.

The reduction of the number of foreign pupils per school makes it easier to arrange special measures for those pupils. The example of Krefeld shows that it is possible to afford mixed learning groups a lasting existence, which can in turn contribute to the emotional assurance of pupils of both nationalities. In this way, the ground-work can be done for later social contacts. However, the Krefeld example also shows that this is not sufficient, in terms of the "intercultural hypothesis", to enable pupils to master the situation engendered by migration. In Krefeld, the decisive shortcomings arise out of the decision to transport children to a school far away from their homes, preventing any follow-up measures outside the actual school. In Duisburg, on the other hand, since the school lay in the residential neighbourhood the conditions were such as to enable pupils to continue contacts established at school during their leisure time: according to the teachers, these possibilities are made use of by the pupils. The existence of a leisure centre near the school and the close co-operation between both institutions are reinforcing factors. While the imbalance between German and foreign pupils poses organisational problems within the school, integrating measures, joint teaching and other activities are not left to chance.

From observation of the two schools it may be concluded that the presence of a very large group of foreign pupils does not in itself make intercultural education impossible; on the other hand, intercultural education cannot be guaranteed simply by reducing the number of foreign pupils.

In terms of the "intercultural hypothesis", the organisation of joint teaching and other activities is not in itself sufficient. What needs to be added is some instruction about the situation of the two groups, so as to provide information on the past and present living conditions of the two groups, and get the pupils to contribute to such information. This is the genuinely intercultural element that is lacking in both schools; the German pupils are those primarily concerned, since they know little about the lives of their foreign school-mates.

Co-operation between teachers in the school itself, in so far as it is aimed at "mutual in-service training", opens up the possibility of broadening the foreign teachers' knowledge about their rights and obligations in the host country's school system on the one hand and, on the other, of informing the native teachers about the specific problems - and potential - of their

foreign pupils. In both schools, this opportunity is taken but involves extraordinary personal commitment on the part of the teaching staff. In both cases, however, emphasis is placed on improving information for the foreign teachers about administrative, educational and methodological principles in the German school. According to the "intercultural hypothesis", the German teachers ought also to broaden their knowledge about the linguistic, social and cultural background of their immigrant pupils, their reasons for migrating and their living conditions in the host country.

In both schools, co-operation between teachers results in attempts to achieve parallel progress in content and method in certain subjects, which is an important step towards intercultural education. However, in both cases, this co-ordination concerns only teaching for the Turkish pupils; its sole aim is to make good their deficiencies in knowledge of German and other subjects. Important though this is from the point of view of equality of opportunity for all children within the German school system, there seems no reason, from the point of view of the interculturalist objective of a shared group of the situation engendered by migration, not to provide the German children with teaching about subjects corresponding to that objective.

In both schools, the contribution of non-teaching staff is of great importance. In Krefeld, co-operation with the child welfare specialist does not go beyond remedial work with the Turkish children, whereas in Duisburg priority is given to after-school activities.

Intercultural education cannot do without involving parents of both groups in the life of the school and in encouraging contacts between them. Owing to the conditions facing the Krefeld school, little can be done in this direction. The Duisburg example shows, however, that efforts in this direction can be successful; if the school is situated in the pupils' home neighbourhood parents can be encouraged to identify with their school and contacts occur spontaneously without having to be specifically created. Furthermore, the participation by parents in the activities of the youth centre and co-operation between the centre and the school create informal opportunities for encouraging parents to take part in various school bodies. Co-operation on a basis of mutual acceptance between German and foreign parents in school participatory bodies may subsequently encourage contact between parents in a setting conducive to the discovery of common interests and this may in turn encourage joint activity, favour social relationships and enable immigrant families to overcome their isolation.

In intercultural education terms, the school ought to realise that its standards are not only those of a specific social class, but are ethnocentric into the bargain; it ought to undertake a thorough review of its standards in order to afford the children of both groups, both natives and immigrants, development possibilities going beyond mere adaptation. Both the schools studied here have begun to move in this direction by time-tabling teaching of the mother tongue during normal school hours. In so doing, they have both tried to safeguard the cultural and linguistic identity of their foreign pupils. These efforts are also perceptible at other levels. The organisation of Turkish festivals and teaching German children to sing Turkish songs may help give them some idea, however vague, of the richness of the other culture.

There is still no answer to the question of why, despite all the measures and activities described, the Turkish children at the end of the primary course still mainly opt for the less well thought of branches of secondary education.

One possible explanation is that the assessment of school performance on which guidance is based is still influenced too much (or even entirely) by the prescriptive postulates of the German school, which are perhaps not to reflect all the aspects of the behaviour and performance of immigrant children.

"Mother-tongue teaching in classes comprising two nationalities. An experiment in co-operation between Finnish and Swedish pupils in the municipality of Värmdö" (Sweden)

Case study

by

Bertil NORBELIE

BACKGROUND

The municipality

Värmdö municipality (kommun) lies 25 kilometres to the east of Stockholm in the archipelago. There are approximately 17,500 inhabitants and the urban centre for the area is Gustavsberg.

Approximately 75% of the urban population live in flats in apartment blocks. There are both owner-occupied and rented flats. The people outside the urban centre normally live in smaller areas of owner-occupied houses. The outer archipelago is sparsely populated.

There are three major sources of employment:

1. AB Gustavsberg with 1,800 employees; a ceramics concern producing household goods, ornaments and sanitary ware. In recent years the firm has also started producing plastic goods.

2. The municipal authorities of Värmdö with 1,800 employees; provides various forms of administration and service for the community. This group includes personnel for pre-schools, schools and care for the aged.

3. Gustavsbergs konsumentförening (co-operative society) with 400 employees; the society runs a fairly large department store in the urban district and a number of smaller shops.

Approximately 3,500 people work outside the boundaries of the municipal authority and commute daily to their work in the Stockholm area.

The population

Of the 175,000 inhabitants in 1979, approximately 2,300 were foreign nationals. Most of the immigrants come from Finland (73%), Italy (7%) and Yugoslavia (5%). Other immigrant groups are small and cover a wide range of nationalities. The majority of immigrants live in the urban area.

Immigrant traditions and the language situation

There has been a long history of immigration of various types in Värmdö. From 1830 onwards ceramics specialists for Gustavberg's pottery were recruited from England, France, Germany and many other countries. During the 1920s there was large scale recruiting of workers from various parts of Sweden. For some reason the company preferred to recruit workers from Smaland and Dalarna rather than from the near-lying Stockholm region. In the 1940s the industry recruited a large number of experienced ceramics workers from Italy. There was a great need for trained personnel who could pass on the ceramics traditions. In Gustavsberg today there are Italians who represent three generations of immigrants.

During recent years the greatest number of immigrants has come from Finland. At the same time the type of work has changed so that AB Gustavsberg is now a firm where the artisans' skill is no longer as prominent.

The township of Gustavsberg has an important population in terms of size. The immigrants have, to a great extent, chosen to retain their native languages. Their knowledge of Swedish is often limited to the absolute basics. Through various societies and by, at least periodically, limiting their private social circle to those who speak the same native language, the immigrants have preserved much of the language and culture of their country of origin. They visit their home countries for holidays and many, when they reach the age of retirement, return to their native countries.

Teaching in pre-school and in industry

Language training for pre-school children and for adults will be described here so that the teaching of immigrant children in schools can be seen in its true perspective.

Pre-school in Sweden is voluntary.

The municipal authorities are required to provide part-time pre-school for all children who are or will be six years old during the year. Pre-school is voluntary but in practice all children participate. The local authority is obliged to contact all homes to give information about pre-schooling.

Obviously the immigrant groups receive special attention in this context. Bilingual staff are employed in pre-schools and their job is to help the children maintain contacts with the culture of the native country and to train the children in their mother tongue. Most of the children only get a few hours training a week in this way. The difficulty in finding personnel and sufficient work for them to justify full-time employment is considerable. The result is that the personnel often work in a number of different pre-school groups and they break in on and disturb the normal routine of the pre-school. In recent years it has been possible to establish a couple of pupil groups in which Finnish is the language medium and the personnel are Finnish speaking. Other pre-schools aim to have at least one person on the staff who speaks the children's mother tongue.

Since 1973 companies have been obliged to organise Swedish tuition for the immigrants among their employees. Every immigrant has the right to 240 hours of Swedish language tuition during working hours without loss of earnings. Participation is voluntary and many have chosen not to take part. Part-time work and shiftwork can cause problems for the participants and for the companies. The tuition has reached certain groups (such as cleaners) to a very limited extent only. Women who are not employed outside the home have not benefited either. They must take part in voluntary study groups or adult education courses to obtain such tuition.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEACHING OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN COMPULSORY SCHOOL (grades 1-9)

As late as the mid-1960s there was no native language tuition in the municipality of Värmdö. The pupils moving into the area were placed in ordinary Swedish speaking classes. Limited resources were made available to help the pupils learn Swedish as quickly as possible so that they could take part in the normal classwork. In many cases of course, the situation was hopeless. Some pupils had the capacity to cope with the change-over after a short period, others remained silent for the greater part of their school life. Sometimes the pupil was placed in a class below that appropriate for his age.

Eventually native language tuition and auxiliary teaching (remedial teaching) in the native language were introduced. This teaching took the same form as remedial clinics, which meant that the pupils were withdrawn from the ordinary class to have special tuition with a Finnish speaking teacher. The disadvantage of this form of teaching was that the pupil frequently had to leave his class and the teaching was interrupted. It was presumed that the class teacher and the native language teacher would co-operate. In practice this co-operation seldom functioned as it should have. Remedial teaching had to be carried out in whatever room was available. This was often a store room or other area frequently disturbed by others. It was almost impossible to obtain teachers with any formal qualification for the work. Native language teaching was often looked on as a rather unnecessary burden which disturbed the school's normal routine. There was no real understanding of the need for native language teaching.

At the end of the 1960s the number of Finnish speaking immigrant pupils in Gustavsberg had increased to such a level that it was possible to group them together so that they could form a class of their own. Research results began to show with more unanimity that the pupil's mother tongue was of vital importance for the basic concepts.

Therefore a number of totally Finnish speaking classes were organised in Gustavsberg for a few years. The authorities were fortunate in obtaining highly competent personnel for the work. The pupils appeared well-balanced and built up good relationships with their teachers. The parents had complete freedom of choice to place their child in the Finnish class or in the normal Swedish speaking class. The pupils also received instruction in Swedish as a foreign language. There was no previous experience of such teaching and there was a certain amount of doubt as to what extent Swedish should be taught. However, some important difficulties were noted. The first difficulty was that the authorities were not prepared to carry on the class using Finnish as the teaching medium beyond the third school year.

In the fourth year the Finnish speaking class was split up and the pupils were spread out in ordinary, Swedish speaking classes. Swedish then became the medium for the main part of the pupil's tuition. Finnish tuition was given in smaller groups which were now and again withdrawn from the classroom for this purpose.

The second problem for the Finnish speaking classes was, unfortunately, various forms of animosity between Swedish and Finnish pupils. Minor scuffles and abusive language occurred all too often between these groups. It proved impossible to get the Swedish pupils to show any understanding for the Finnish pupils' problems.

EXPERIMENT IN CO-OPERATION BETWEEN FINNISH AND SWEDISH PUPILS

In 1974 the idea was put forward that Finnish and Swedish pupils should be put together in one class to achieve the double goal - that the Finnish pupils should receive most of their tuition in their mother tongue and, at the same time, to create the opportunity to increase understanding between the pupils from the different language groups. Half of the pupils in a class would be Finnish speaking, the other half Swedish speaking. This class would have two full-time teachers who would be with the pupils during their first six years in school (primary school and middle school). Both the teachers would together be responsible for the teaching of both groups of pupils in the class. The several advantages which, it was hoped, would be gained from such composite classes were:

1. The status of the immigrant's mother tongue would be acknowledged and accepted as a result of the parallel use of Swedish and Finnish as the languages of tuition in the same class. Through their co-operation the two teachers would actively demonstrate in their daily work the equal standing of the two languages.

2. The pupils and parents would have a greater sense of security since they would have the same teachers during the first, important, school years. The pupils would not be subjected to the system whereby the work is interrupted and the pupils must go to another room to meet yet one more teacher for remedial teaching, etc. It should be possible for the main part of the work to be carried out within the framework of the class.

3. It should also be possible to achieve a planned transition to Swedish. The aim was that when they left the middle school after grade 6, the pupils should be prepared for tuition using Swedish as the medium. In this way, on the transfer to upper school where there is a change from a one class-teacher system to a system with various subject teachers, the teaching could be conducted in Swedish. The composite classes also create opportunities for the individual pupil to choose, according to his interest and abilities, whether he wishes to have Swedish or Finnish as the teaching medium in a particular subject. However, all pupils should have some hours tuition in and of Finnish at upper school level (grades 7-9) to maintain and develop their skills in Finnish. The official aim for native language teaching in schools is that the pupils should be helped to attain an active bilingualism.

4. The personnel, working as members of a team, would have many opportunities for mutual help and support in a field where many aims were not clearly defined and where new methods and approaches had to be developed if the goals were to be realised.

5. Since schoolwork not only affects the pupils but their parents as well, the school would play a more active part in bringing together adults of different nationalities. Contacts between the native Swedish population and immigrants are, in fact, very few as a rule. By allowing the co-operation experienced by the pupils in their schoolwork to be reflected in parents' meetings and other activities involving the parents of these pupils, an opportunity for the adults to meet across the language barrier would arise naturally. By taking up such questions as standards, or road-safety education at parents' meetings or by perhaps allowing the children as a group to present something for their parents, an opportunity would be provided for establishing contacts between the adults.

6. Naturally, the educational aim to impart knowledge and skills, and the requirements in the quality of teaching remained the same. But the composite classes also had a very clearly defined social aim. The understanding for a fellow-being with another language and cultural tradition was to be emphasised to an extent not previously possible. The content of the curriculum would also be used to create opportunities for co-operation between the pupils from the two language groups. Understanding of the Swedish and Finnish cultural differences could be brought into daily life and into the teaching. The term "interculturalism" would in this way be given real meaning.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE ORGANISATION

Resources

The local education authorities receive a state grant for native language and tutoring in the native language, which is equivalent to 1.1 teaching hours/week per pupil per year. This state grant can be increased slightly under special circumstances - in areas of high immigration for example. Auxiliary teaching of Swedish has a state grant equivalent to four teaching hours per group of three to five pupils. Normally the various types of state grant are kept separate but, put in a somewhat simplified form, one can reckon for planning purposes on resources equivalent to a little more than two teaching hours per week per participating pupil. These resources should cover the teaching of both the native language and Swedish, for the participating pupils.

Adjustments in resources and teaching hours

By making adjustments in the allotted resources and regarding them as an entity which can, for a group of pupils, be arranged flexibly over the whole period of first and middle school (grades 1-6), it becomes possible to work out other solutions. This type of adjustment is necessary for the organisation model used here. Another difference lies in the changes in the curriculum to allow for the teaching of Swedish as a foreign language. For some groups of pupils special arrangements have been made concerning the teaching of English, which has been introduced at a later stage than in the normal school curriculum.

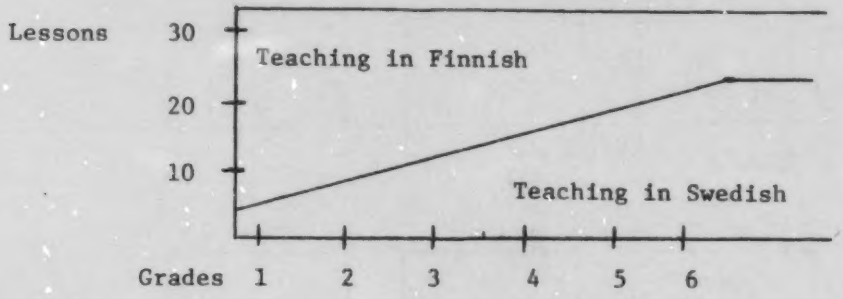
The two-teacher system

Given the conditions stated above, it is possible to form a class where half of the pupils are Finnish speaking and half Swedish speaking. Two teachers are appointed to this composite class, one of them is bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) whose teaching post is paid for by the resources which would have been used in the formation for an ordinary class. The Finnish teaching post is paid for by the special funds which are the combined resources for native language tuition and auxiliary teaching.

The progressive increase of Swedish

The teaching is conducted so that the Finnish pupils, during their first school year receive most of their teaching in Finnish and the teaching of Swedish is introduced and successively increased during the six years in primary and middle school. This means that, at first, the Finnish speaking teacher is the class teacher for the Finnish pupils in almost all subjects. Swedish is taught by the Swedish class teacher, which is important since the children should recognise the separate language identity of these two people. Little by little, as the teaching in Swedish increases, the bilingual Finnish teacher must take on the responsibility for certain lessons with the Swedish pupils. This should occur in lessons which are not primarily based on oral presentation but preferably in those lessons in which the pupils' own work is the dominating feature.

The model can, in a simplified form, be illustrated by the following figure:

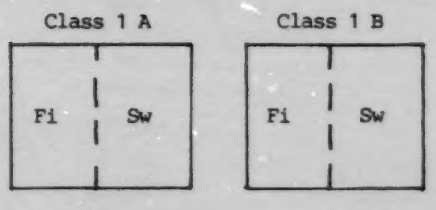


When the teaching in Swedish increases for the Finnish pupils it becomes possible to teach the Swedish and Finnish pupils in a heterogenous group. This combined group teaching can be carried out by both of the teachers together or by either one of them.

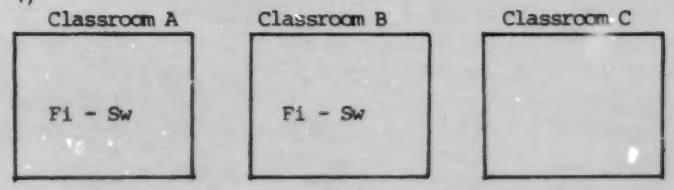
Teaching teams and classrooms

Since the number of Finnish speaking pupils has remained fairly stable at about 30, for each year's intake, it has been possible to organise two composite classes in each grade. This provides opportunities for a number of interesting solutions. In Gustavsberg the following model has been used:

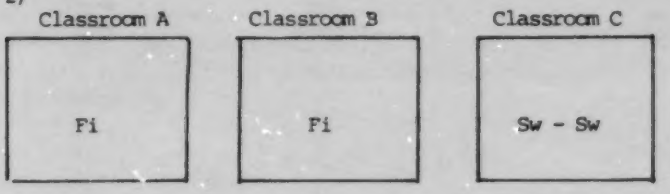
The model can be illustrated by the following diagram:



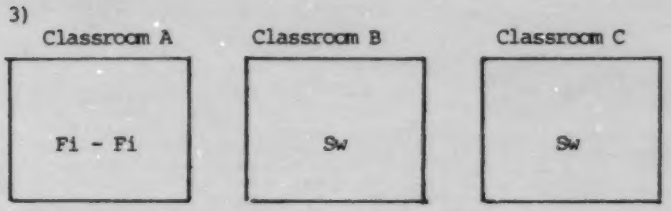
1)



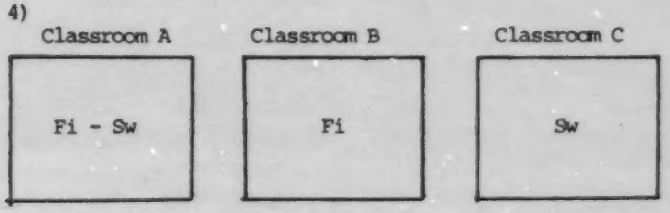
2)



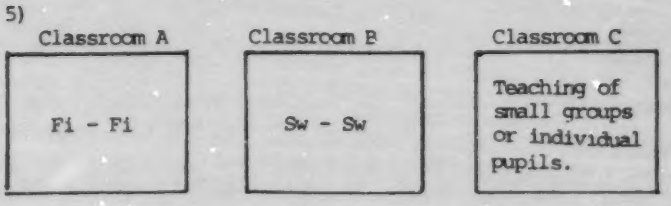
3)



4)



5)



Two composite classes are organised for each grade. The two classes each have two teachers. These two classes have three classrooms at their disposal. Given that the four teachers in a grade co-operate around their two composite classes, the following groupings are possible:

1. Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking pupils can be taught together in one or more of the three classrooms.

2. All the Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking pupils can be grouped in one classroom respectively.

3. The Swedish speaking or Finnish speaking group can be taken out and can be taught separately in the third classroom. This grouping can be arranged according to the needs of the moment. The groups do not need to be equal in size.

4. The teacher not primarily responsible for a particular group of pupils can either function as an auxiliary teacher in the classroom or can have special responsiblility for one or a few selected pupils. In this arrangement there is, in practice, an auxiliary/remedial resource built into the system.

RESULTS

The results described here are based on four years' experience of the system. Since the organisation was expanded progressively with a simultaneous start in grade 4 the system is now fully expanded to cover the first six years of school.

By far the greatest benefit from this model has been that Finnish has been firmly established as the first language of tuition for the immigrant children. Immigrant parents have accepted that the fundamental process of concept formation must occur in the mother tongue and very few parents of school beginners choose to send their children to an ordinary Swedish speaking class even though the opportunity is of course available.

The pupils appear to thrive and the teaching groups are, as a rule, small. The teacher has more opportunities than previously to adjust the teaching according to the individual pupil's needs. In general it can be said that the pupils' achievement levels are what can be expected.

As was expected, the social aims have been realised. Finnish and Swedish pupils play together in the breaks. They consider themselves a group which belongs together. Sometimes friends have been chosen from the other language group after school hours as well.

Contact between Swedish and Finnish parents has occurred in some circumstances. The Swedish parents' understanding of the Finnish group's problems has, without doubt, increased. It is, however, difficult to include efforts toward greater parent involvement in the already extended personnel resources.

For the teachers, the change in work routine has been most noticeable. Despite the unfamiliarity with team teaching, the co-operation in many cases has produced very positive results. As a rule deeper insight into team teaching does not exist in the Swedish school system. Many of the ideas in the general school curriculum presuppose that co-operation exists but usually the work is carried out according to the curriculum with nothing but superficial co-operation. In the system with composite classes which has been established in Gustavsberg, the work cannot be done unless there is co-operation. It can be said, with good reason, that the lack of co-operation does not show so clearly in the ordinary school system. In the composite classes the work ceases to function the moment co-operation does.

PROBLEMS

The work has presented great difficulties. These will of course be described since they are a good point from which to begin an analysis and further development of the initiated system. The risk is, however, that a detailed description of all the difficulties can help to give the impression that many problems are almost insuperable. But they can also be considered as a challenge and can give insight into where problems can arise and how one can deal with them.

The first difficulty was informing the parents about the alternatives which the school could offer their children. All the school beginners were observed in pre-school groups and discussions took place with the pre-school personnel. Home visits gave every individual information and at the same time the school personnel could form an impression of the pupils' and parents' language status.

At a number of rather large parent meetings, with an interpreter present, the different teaching models were explained to both the Swedish and Finnish parents. The freedom of choice was explained very clearly to all groups. Happily the Swedish parents often considered the system as presented to them, as an advantage. There was therefore no problem in recruiting pupils for the Swedish speaking parts of the classes. For the immigrants, however, it was considerably more difficult to make the right choice. Often Finnish is spoken in the home and in the immediate social circle. At the same time daily life brings them into contact with the Swedish language. The Finnish which the family speaks can be impoverished after many years in Sweden. The most extreme case appeared in a family with twins, one of whom used Swedish as his first language and the other Finnish!

Another real cause for concern is the difficulty of obtaining suitable teaching material. Of course it is possible to obtain material in the Finnish language from Finland, but this is written for a school system which differs from the Swedish one. This is natural since the two countries have different school curricula. If the co-operation is to succeed, the material content and the methods which are often built into the material should be more or less the same for both languages. Furthermore, there was a lack of material of the "reading for experience" and "reading for information" type which is not part of the basic teaching material. It has been possible gradually to build up a supply of such material so that the situation is now somewhat better.

When the composite classes were introduced it was assumed that, for such subjects as gymnastics, music and the class-hour(1), it would be an advantage to have the two language groups together. This proved to be a mistake. Competitiveness and other factors made the pupils very unruly during these periods and the lessons functioned badly. Instead it was decided, according to a fixed plan, to have some form of social activity together during the first year. This could be an outing, a study-visit or something else which brought the pupils together in a more natural way.

The Finnish pupils were first given some training in Swedish only when they reached the second grade. From the beginning of the third year the teaching of Swedish and the teaching in Swedish gradually increased so that by the sixth grade there were 16 to 18 lessons per week.

Before the experiment started it was intended to have as great a co-ordination in content as possible. The idea was to allow the Finnish group to study Finland at the same time as the Swedish speaking group studied Sweden's geography and history. The two groups should then meet and in varying forms report to each other what they had discovered. In this way they would learn to know each other's backgrounds and the understanding between the two groups of pupils should increase. This occurred to a certain extent, but often the respective groups chose to go their own way and therefore there was no resulting co-operation.

The biggest problem with the organisation model in question was connected with the teachers' attitudes to co-operation and many other important questions.

After a very short time, the teachers of the composite classes asked for the use of another classroom. During the first year there were often two Finnish teachers sitting in the same room each teaching his own little group of pupils in quite different subjects. Instead of allowing one teacher to take the responsibility for the work, or planning and executing the teaching together, each worked by himself with a different subject and competed for the same classroom. Since there were no more rooms available within a reasonable distance, they asked for the room to be divided in two by setting up bookshelves. The school management were not unanimous in supporting the teachers' demands. One approach would have been to carry on in the same way and see if co-operation would in the end be forthcoming as a natural solution to the problem. This was not tried, however, and the room was divided with bookshelves and any attempt at co-operation between these two teachers virtually ceased. This problem has remained to a varying extent. It is reasonable to maintain that the demand for more classrooms has been used as an argument by the teachers in an attempt to disguise the fact that they were averse to the intimate contact which results from such close co-operation.

---

(1) The hour in which the class teacher is with the class and discusses problems, etc.

This lack of co-operation can often be traced to much deeper problems. After a time, the work in Värmdö acquired a good reputation and almost all the teaching posts could be filled by qualified staff. Many teachers, however, have been greatly influenced by the current debate on how immigrant native language teaching (home-language teaching) should be organised. The Finnish associations have strongly urged that a parallel Finnish school system should be set up in Sweden. The Finnish speaking pupils would therefore, according to this point of view, have the opportunity of completing their schooling entirely in Finnish. If one agrees with this, there is the risk that the teaching is conducted in such a way that there is as little contact as possible with the other language. This attitude can be more or less pronounced but almost certainly could describe in some cases the teaching which was being carried out in Värmdö.

It has also been difficult to get the teachers to agree to act as resource teachers for individual pupils. They have preferred to solve the problem of children with various learning difficulties by bringing in more staff.

In some cases the Finnish speaking personnel have used Swedish as a medium for teaching their pupils. This has immediately led to a situation in which the pupils are unsure of their own and the teacher's language identity. "Which language should I use?", "How do they want me to speak?" the pupil seems to ask himself. When the problem had been noted there was no further difficulty in avoiding these situations.

The organisation presupposes that while the Swedish class teacher is teaching Swedish to the Finnish pupils, the Finnish teacher will teach the Swedish speaking group. No problems of any importance have been noted for the pupils in this respect. Finnish-Swedish is common in Gustavsberg. On the other hand the Finnish teachers are somewhat reluctant to teach the Swedish pupils in this way. They would rather that another Swedish speaking teacher was employed to teach Swedish to the Finnish speaking children, thus releasing the Swedish class teacher for duties with the Swedish pupils.

Since the teachers very often wish to reduce their working hours, it has often been possible to solve the problem in the way which the teachers wished.

An extremely important fact which one must always bear in mind is that the various teachers in a team must have the same status. This was not accorded sufficient importance in the beginning. It was difficult to find fully-qualified staff for the Finnish teaching. The Swedish staff were more familiar with the conditions in Swedish schools and as a result automatically took the lead. The problem is, however, not difficult to tackle as long as one is aware of it and the tasks are distributed in a suitable way within the teaching team.

Many of the problems described can be dealt with by adequate in-service training for the personnel concerned. Regular staff conferences are very necessary. The team which has found ways to solve the time aspect of the problem of co-operation has also experienced a strength in always being able to get support from its members. For many reasons direct in-service training would also be needed for the personnel not directly involved in the work with immigrant pupils. In time these problems can perhaps be solved by giving all school personnel fixed working hours during which they must be in school. At the moment a teacher is relatively free to use his time as he thinks fit during the hours in which he is not actually teaching. Therefore difficulties arise over the times when the team should meet for discussions.

Usually Swedish pupils begin learning English in grade 3. This meant that the Finnish pupils met English for the first time at the same time as the more systematic training in Swedish was introduced. It became obvious that the pupils could not manage to study their mother tongue and two new languages at the same time. Therefore, the English course was at first given a somewhat simpler form than usual. Later on it was found that the distribution of hours had to be adjusted so English was postponed, for at least a year, for the Finnish speaking pupils. The hours which are lost can be retrieved by increasing the teaching hours in the fifth or sixth grade.

Methods in teaching Swedish as a foreign language are not sufficiently familiar or developed. The teaching is carried on very much on an "ad hoc" basis, and adequate material is not available for much of the work.

For those with practical experience of teaching matters, it is irritating to discover that various administrative barriers hinder good work. One such hindrance is the differing salary structures and differing organisation of teaching posts for native language teachers and Swedish class teachers. For example, a native language teacher can also consider pastoral work as part of the job.

Contacts with the home can be so time-consuming that it is deemed necessary to have special remuneration for this work. An ordinary class teacher is expected to carry out all the tasks connected with pastoral care of pupils, outside his teaching hours. The problem was solved, with some opposition, by allowing no teachers special hours for pastoral work. However, by redistributing the work within the teaching team, it became possible to free one of the members so that, where necessary, a home visit could be made during the day-time. This applied to the Swedish as well as the Finnish teachers. It should also be mentioned that the bilingual teacher, by being appointed as a native language teacher and not as a class teacher (even if he is qualified as such) has a higher salary than a Swedish class teacher.

COMMENTARY ON THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE TEACHING PRODUCED

A number of factors giving rise to problems in the teaching of composite classes have already been discussed. Many of the difficulties can be related to the attitudes of the staff and the unfamiliarity with team teaching. A number of the underlying causes probably go much deeper than the statement that "differing basic approaches to methods"

prevented co-operation. Do the staff really believe in the stated goals? Are the basic attitudes on the right to a Finnish parallel school system or the desire to integrate the immigrants and turn them into Swedes the motives which really lie behind and influence the behaviour patterns of the staff?

Has the school management acted consistently in accordance with the stated aims? The first years' work at least can be criticised because the directives given for the work were too imprecise. This resulted in many vague personal opinions which perhaps inhibited activity to a certain extent. Teamwork stands or falls to an alarming degree according to the values of the people concerned and their need of someone who can continually initiate and direct the discussions in the group as a whole.

During the whole of the 1970s the Finnish associations have been very active in influencing opinion. Among the Finnish speaking immigrants in Gustavsberg today, there is little doubt as to which should be the teaching language when the pupils first start school. On the other hand, few of the discussions have dealt with the question of how and to what extent Swedish should be introduced for the Finnish pupils. The debate is conducted from the stand-point of motivating the Finnish part in the teaching.

No one seems to have considered whether a Finnish parallel school system in Sweden would promote "interculturalism". Perhaps it would have the opposite effect in that such a system would hinder the understanding of other cultures and the co-operation which we have so actively strived for.

THE FUTURE

In the on-going work there are many problems to be solved.

One concerns the form which teaching in upper comprehensive school (grades 7-9) should take. Up till now, the old system has been retained with an ordinary class with Swedish as the language of instruction. The Finnish speaking pupils have been withdrawn in small groups from the ordinary classes to have native language lessons and tutoring in their native language.

For the coming school year, the possiblility of teaching one or more subjects using Finnish as the language of instruction, is being discussed. Thus, for example, teaching of social subjects (civics) could be conducted entirely in Finnish so that no hours are lost for any one particular subject.

Representations have been made to the Swedish National Board of Education to establish a more comprehensive evaluation of the levels of attainment in various subjects. Such an evaluation is being planned and Värmdö local authority will probably participate in the first series of evaluations.

A final important point is whether it is realistic to have as official goals for immigrant pupils

a. active bilingualism, and

b. the same level of achievement as for the other pupils.

The time needed for active language instruction must be taken from some other teaching. The curriculum for the compulsory comprehensive school allows the teachers considerable freedom of choice as to course content. This is an advantage but the risk is that the teachers are not able to select from the profusion which the teaching material provides. An attempt to give as comprehensive an education as possible may result in superficiality and low achievement levels.

Interculturalism in pre-school education between Yugoslavs and Swedes in Malmö (Sweden)

Case study

by

Burhan Misirli

Malmö - a city of migrants

The city of Malmö, situated as it is in the very south of Sweden, near Denmark and the European continent, has been a focus of immigration for a very long time. Immigration began with the Germans in the 14th century and continued with the Jews and Danes, in the 19th century. Germans from the Sudeten and Estonians, just prior to the Second World War, Norwegians, Finns, Poles and Italians in the post-war period.

During the last 17 years immigrants looking for work have formed the majority of those who have come to Malmö. Among these are people from almost all the states and provinces of Yugoslavia, Greeks, Turks, Portuguese and Icelanders. New waves of refugees have also arrived including: Poles, Czechs, Polish Jews, Zigeuner from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and refugees from Latin America.

The Yugoslav group is the biggest immigrant group in Malmö today. There are over 40,000 Yugoslavs in Sweden and 6,500 of these live in Malmö; (in order of size the sub-groups are Serbians, Croatians, Turks, Macedonians, Albanians, Slovenes).

The big immigration wave began in 1964 when there was a great shortage of man-power in Swedish industry. The high standard of living in Sweden was an added attraction for the emigrating Yugoslavs.

At first the Yugoslav immigrants lived in workers' accommodation barracks, and condemned houses in the centre of the city. Since 1970 the Yugoslavs, in common with many other immigrant groups, have moved to new housing areas on the outskirts of the city.

Housing segregation

One can say that, recently there has been a certain "ghettoisation" of immigrants in Malmö. There are various reasons for this. Firstly the immigrants were forced to move from the houses which were going to be demolished and the available accommodation was in the newly-built housing areas. Secondly immigrants were drawn to their own kind - they wished to live near people with the same or similar values and to get the most from neighbourhood relationships.

There is still a widely spread fiction that housing segregation is some sort of misfortune - that there is the risk of ghetto-formation and that consequently immigrants should be prevented from moving into certain areas. It is believed that by steering the immigrants to various housing areas spread over the town they will be more easily integrated into Swedish society.

Many facts indicate that immigrants' housing patterns, eg living in segregated or integrated areas, are not related to the degree of social integration in society as a whole. It can be said that in modern Swedish society, local housing areas of the Rosengård type in Malmö have been the basis for certain important functions, such as social community and control, security, identity, socialisation of children and contacts between the various religious and ethnic groups.

Rosengård

This report is chiefly concerned with the pre-schools which have groups containing both Swedish and Yugoslav children. These groups are drawn from an area in or near the housing area Rosengård on the outskirts of Malmö. This is a relatively new housing area of high-rise flats with a population of about 25,000.

A characteristic of the area is the imbalance in population age - with a large group of young parents with small children, and very few elderly people - who are nearly all parents of immigrants.

Approximately 28% of the inhabitants of the area are immigrants, while in Malmö as a whole immigrants represent 7% of the total population.

In the statistical unit "Gamla Rosengård" which is a part of the area, there are according to the latest census figures (1 January 1980) 2,690 people of whom 1,429 are foreign nationals (53%) of these 1,011 are Yugoslav citizens.

The shops and services in the area are placed in a large central precinct. This is somewhat strange to many of the immigrants who are used to corner-shops and neighbourhood cafés. The lack of these makes the area sterile and non-functioning from an immigrant's point of view. This is compensated for by many immigrant associations and societies which meet in the various basement rooms in the area. These are favourite meeting places for many adult immigrants and for teenagers and children as well.

The schools and pre-schools are built close to the housing and many of the pre-schools are actually located in ordinary flats.

Yugoslavs in Malmö

Half of all the Yugoslavs in Malmö live in the housing areas Rosengård, Persborg, Lindängen, Annelund and Augustenborg. All these areas, apart from Lindängen, lie near each other. The ties within the various groups of Yugoslavs are rather strong, especially in the first generation. Well organised society and club activities with close contacts between the various societies, common interests and the differences in their way of life when compared to the Swedish environment, act as cohesive factors.

The Yugoslavs' bonds with their country of origin are very strong regardless of whether they intend to stay in Sweden or return to Yugoslavia. Most of them have continuous contact with relatives and friends in their home country. They almost always spend their holidays there. The continuing residence in Sweden is most often motivated by the children's schooling and the better incomes in Sweden.

To a great extent Yugoslav immigrants in Sweden have chosen to retain their native language which is used in the family, among friends and relatives and in contacts with the home country.

Many adults have a very limited knowledge of the Swedish language - often knowing only the absolute basics. On the other hand communication among the children, even within a family, is often in Swedish as a result of the use of Swedish as the school language and their contact with Swedish mass media. This use of Swedish is also promoted by the fact that an immigrant language always has a lower social status.

Most Turkish and Albanian immigrants from Yugoslavia who have come to Sweden, have settled in Malmö

The three religions - Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Muslim are represented in the city by their congregations: a Serbian-orthodox, a Macedonain-orthodox, two Muslim, and a Roman Catholic.

Yugoslavs in Rosengård

It is a great advantage, not least for the children, that Yugoslavs live close together in a few of the city blocks in the Rosengård area and nearby Persborg and Annelund areas. In the Gamla Rosengård block half of the residents are Yugoslavs. Because of this it has been possible to organise pre-school and school classes with many Yugoslav children in each group, to run an extensive native language teaching scheme in the various Yugoslav languages, to arrange meeting places for the various cultural groups and sports clubs and to provide bilingual personnel in the youth clubs and leisure centres.

But above all these local Yugoslav communities provide a sense of security and many opportunities for contact between friends and relations: for example baby sitting can be organised within the group either in the same house or in the same street; one can get help in case of illness or in times of crisis. The opportunities for making contacts and friends among relatives and neighbours are always there and can be relied on.

Among the Yugoslavs who live in a strictly maintained social framework are the Turks and Albanians. Families know each other as a rule and are often related in some way. They have emigrated from a few villages near the town of Resen in southern Macedonia. For these families, where many of the adults are illiterate, traditions and religion play a very important role in the retention of their identity. The activities of the Yugoslav families in the Gamla Rosengård area, their contacts with relatives and friends, occur to a great extent in the presence of the children and with their active participation.

Most of the elderly Yugoslavs, parents of the young families with children, live in Gamla Rosengård. These "deda" and "baba" today have an important role to play by being on hand for their children and for their grandchildren during their childhood. At the same time as they participate in the practical work in the house and in child-minding they convey the meaningful cultural symbols to the younger generation of Yugoslavs.

Yugoslav culture

To talk of Yugoslav culture is to talk of the many nations' cultures which together make up a composite Yugoslav culture, where differences in customs and practices among the various peoples and parts of the country are taken for granted.

Yugoslav immigrants' culture in Sweden is not only the traditional. Even that which happens now, and that which will happen, play an important role. The tension between retaining the original culture and changing it, between upholding it and questioning it, belongs to everyday life in every Yugoslav family. This situation is always evident when the discussion concerns bringing up children in Sweden.

When discussing children of school age one must consider to what extent they identify themselves as Yugoslavs and to what degree they are rooted in a Yugoslav way of life and Yugoslav values. One can, hopefully, describe and explain the various types and degrees of Yugoslav identity in the light of linguistic and, primarily, cultural activity and other social factors.

I have chosen to describe that part of the culture which Yugoslav parents wish to pass on to their children as part of their own cultural heritage. It can be described as a sort of ethnic culture or folk culture as the Yugoslavs prefer to call it and it functions as a source of emotional strength in a foreign environment.

The part of the culture which is available to second generation Yugoslav children is a genuine culture, which is alive and quite free from sub-cultures which, even in Yugoslavia, are utilised by commercial interests. Folk culture belongs to the family and the ethnic group and often has local characteristics depending on which ethnic group and religion the people belong to, from what part of Yugoslavia they come or to what extent the ethnic group has kept alive its traditions. In certain parts of Yugoslavia, for example, one can still meet people in peasant costume.

This folk culture encompasses folk tales, folk songs, the observance of religious and other festivals associated with the many traditions connected with the seasons, the harvest, weddings, bereavement, burials, christenings, etc. These tradition-bound songs, games, rhymes, word games and other expressions of the collective consciousness whose roots can be traced to the peasant society, have great vigour and are irreplaceable. Therefore in their efforts to keep their children in the social framework within which they have chosen to live, and in trying to counteract the negative effects which the Swedish culture has on their children, the Yugoslavs in Sweden have utilised the genuine folk culture as a source of help and it has, for example, greatly assisted the retention of the mother tongue. One can say that the Yugoslav parents, in attempting to maintain their mother tongue and culture and to pass on their culture to their children have proceeded from their own heritage of an almost sacred folk culture embedded in traditions.

It is, therefore, no accident that there are many Yugoslav societies/associations in Rosengård where the children and young people are given careful instruction in traditional dances and folk songs. The Yugoslav associations usually appear together on Yugoslavia's national day, and in "Youth Day" or "Women's Day" celebrations, with folk dance teams and choirs. It has become a tradition that the associations and the schools co-operate on these occasions.

Yugoslavs and Swedes in Rosengård

The daily environment of the Yugoslav children is also their cultural environment in Rosengård. The children's self assurance is drawn from the Yugoslav culture within their own group but this self assurance has been considerably strengthened by the children's contacts with Swedes.

Yugoslavs and other immigrant groups in the area have influenced the Swedes in many ways, both those who live here and those who work here, and the effect can be seen most of all in the cultural sector in its widest meaning, from a new food culture to new ways of experiencing life and one's fellow beings.

The changes in the cultural pattern have been part of a process which has produced effects in two directions. The immigrants have influenced the Swedes and the Swedes have influenced the immigrants.

From many points of view this two-way process has had a positive effect, but it has also led to problems and conflicts, which in turn have been positive factors. Antagonisms, or rather, differences have forced development.

Despite the fact that Yugoslavs and other immigrants, like their Swedish neighbours, are not involved in the responsibility for matters concerning the whole area, all those living in the Gamla Rosengård block do contribute towards creating a unique local community with a common culture.

A school in the local community, Värner Rydén School, where 450 of the 1,000 pupils are Yugoslav children, is beginning to have close ties with the neighbourhood and to play a role as the heart of the area. There is a young people's leisure centre with several Yugoslav youth leaders; there are ten or more Yugoslav home language teachers working there; the school premises are available for all sorts of Yugoslav and other communal festivities; project weeks dealing with solidarity between Swedes and immigrants are organised here. In other words it is a school providing the conditions for intensive community spirit and feelings of solidarity among people with different backgrounds and cultures.

I cannot resist the temptation to describe something which happened when a pupil from Värner Rydén School had become involved in a dispute with a pupil from a school in another part of the town. The dispute was about a girl that both were in love with. This resulted in a fight. The following day a whole gang from the school outside the area was on its way to Värner Rydén School looking for revenge. The school directors were alerted and the police were called in. The newspapers talked about race riots and large-scale, terrible conflicts between Swedes and immigrants. The gang which was going to wreak vengeance, however, never came inside the school precincts because the pupils from Värner Rydén School, Swedes and immigrants together, armed with stones, drove off the intruders and defended their school.

I have before me a picture of the area in the future when these children take over and administer most of the public sector and, together with the people who need its services, find the answers to local problems from their knowledge of the people in the area.

Some things which are common every day occurrences in the other parts of the town are not found in Gamla Rosengård. In the neighbourhood school for example, no immigrant children are mobbed because of their origin. And neither are the Swedes. Or as one Yugoslav pupil in the upper school said to me, "If we mob them we justify everything that happens in schools with only a few immigrant pupils. Anyway some of my friends are Swedes. Of course children are mobbed in this school but it has nothing to do with their origins". The children who, in the various play rooms and classrooms, share floor cushions and school tables know each other well and therefore have no need of prejudices about each other. Those who do not know each other have prejudices. As an experienced child from a day nursery in Stockholm is quoted as saying, "All Turks are stupid except those I know".

It is difficult to say to what extent the schools and pre-schools in the area, by accepting a number of juxtaposed lifestyles, have contributed to this, as places where children with various backgrounds have been trained to live together. Or is it these children that have changed the pre-schools and schools?

In either case the presence of the immigrants has in many ways helped to prevent Rosengård from being like other new housing areas, typically devoid of activity with isolation and dreariness as their distinctive features. Despite the absence of the street environment with cafés and corner shops, the place is alive, with an air of Europe-in-miniature, and thirsting for "atmosphere".

If one walks around the area on a Saturday morning one can hear, through the open balcony doors, music from all corners of the world, catch the aroma of exotic cooking, hear different languages around a toy or in the sand pit, or mix with the mass of people who have gathered around a lorry newly arrived from southern Europe with fresh peppers and tomatoes.

A lot of people know each other here, are related to each other or about to be related; there are many mixed marriages here, many people who have a common place of work and children who go to the same school or pre-school.

Football is also an important factor when one is discussing contact between immigrants and Swedes. The area has its so-called "Swedish" and "Immigrant" teams despite the fact that the labels certainly do not describe the teams' members. Swedes play for the "immigrants" team and vice-versa. This ought to cause the supporters a headache, one might think, but it does not.

The children in Rosengård, immigrants and Swedes, after their schooling in the nine year compulsory school, cross the boundaries of the area in their search for further education and work and meet society outside Rosengård. Sometimes they do this together, but more often alone. Whatever happens outside, they carry with them the experiences of their childhood years in the area.

Pre-school

For many Yugoslav children pre-school is their first contact with Swedish adults and children, with the Swedish language as a means of communication and with Swedish culture, norms and values. This entails a change of environment which is usually very difficult for small children to cope with. Perhaps the children meet their first playmates here.

Pre-school children who are greatly influenced by their parents normally speak their mother tongue much better than Swedish and have a view of the world which is influenced by the language of their immediate environment, its customs, ethics, norms and role patterns. Many cannot speak Swedish when they start in pre-school.

For a long time immigrant children in pre-school have been overlooked and they were affected but little by the debate which was carried on about immigrant children's rights in school and the measures which were adopted. But just recently, with the increasing interest in pre-schools, they are beginning to take their rightful place.

The most important thing in Swedish immigrant policy of today is the absolute right of immigrant children to retain their mother tongue. Many authorities, organisations and individuals are involved in putting this policy into practice and the result is closely allied to the attitudes of these various people, their degree of involvement and their views on life and people, but much depends on the attitudes and activities of the immigrant associations.

Pre-school, long considered a service for child minding, presents an important chance to fight the gravest injustices there are: inequality of the children's background and environment, injustices which are there from the beginning. For both adults and children pre-school can, with a cultural plan of action, be an ideal work place where the goal is for the child to strive for knowledge, values and norms helped by the personnel who value the child's innate possibilities for further development.

In collecting material for this report I visited ten pre-schools, six of them part-time pre-schools and four day nursery schools, where there were Yugoslav children. Most of these pre-schools were in the same district, four of them in or near Gamla Rosengård.

A questionnaire on children in nursery school (0-6 year olds) has shown that of 809 Yugoslav children 157 have native language teaching in Serbo-croatian and Macedonian. There was no information on Yugoslav children who speak Turkish, Albanian, Hungarian and Slovenian. When visiting the various pre-schools I discovered that there was a part-time group with 14 Yugoslav children who spoke Albanian and a mixed part-time group of Swedes and Yugoslavs with nine children who spoke Turkish. There are also 68 Yugoslav children who receive home language training in mixed part-time groups where half of the group comprises Yugoslav children with a common mother tongue and half of the group is Swedish. The number of Yugoslav children in each of these groups varies from six to 13. One of the staff is a bilingual pre-school teacher or nursery nurse. Other Yugoslav children who are spread out in various pre-schools received a few hours home language training per week from peripatetic bilingual teachers.

In collecting material for this report it was impossible for me not to be affected by the debate which has been raging recently; I refer to the argument for and against single-language groups for immigrant children in Swedish nursery schools.

The debate concerning organisation

In the description of the type of organisation with segregated groups it is stated that "immigrant children shall first develop their mother tongue up till about 12 years of age. A switch to Swedish before this is considered detrimental. By shielding the language and culture in such a way the children should have a good grounding. In this way the child should come to consider his/her mother tongue to be as important as Swedish. The improved status of the culture and language would lead to the disappearance of the children's feelings of inferiority and they would no longer be ashamed of their own origins. In this way the immigrant child's isolation from Swedish society would be broken.".

Opponents of the segregated groups model say that one must "insist on the immigrant child's right to both languages from an early age. If one seriously wants immigrant children to be bilingual, one must direct one's efforts to both languages".

The latter group suggests that in an ordinary pre-school group there should be both Swedish children and children of another nationality. The personnel should of course be selected according to the same principle. In such a model the children would, during the day, live in an environment where both languages were used actively. As a result of the composition of the group the children in their daily life would meet and learn to know children with another language and another culture. In this way the children's upbringing is aimed at reducing the feelings of fear, threat and foreigners on both sides.

This debate deals to a great extent with the organisation and overall framework for the training in pre-school. Both types of organisation can lead to undesirable results for the immigrant children. The monolingual group can be socially isolated, the composite model can be a method and a tool for quicker integration of an immigrant group.

In any case it is difficult to discuss these models in isolation without considering the environment in which the children are growing up, that which exists outside the pre-school.

Many municipalities with a high concentration of immigrants, such as Stockholm, Botkyrka, Södertälje, Eskilstuna and Västerås, try to form monolingual groups. In Malmö I was referred to a project group which the Malmö Social Welfare Department had appointed to investigate the situation with respect to native language training and to put forward proposals for aims and organisation in the care of immigrant children in Malmö. They suggest the following forms in order of priority:

1. Monolingual groups in nursery schools and part-time groups.

2. Bilingual groups where at least half of the children should be immigrant children with a common mother tongue, and the rest Swedish-speaking children.

3. A single language environment in the home of a child-minder where the child-minder and all the children have a common mother tongue.

In Malmö there are already single language part-time groups for Finnish, Greek and Turkish children.

Interculturalism

It has taken a long time to get to the main topic of this report - interculturalism in pre-schools where there are Yugoslav and Swedish children. I could not simply point to a pre-school and say "Look. Interculturalism exists here - here the Swedish children learn a lot about Yugoslav children's culture and vice-versa". I had to describe the milieu in which the Yugoslav and Swedish children live and their school fellows who have begun compulsory school.

I was prepared to see one aspect of the question: how pre-school as an institution provides opportunities for interculturalism. From a purely theoretical point of view there should be nothing to prevent this since the pre-school or more precisely life in pre-school according to its aims must form and pass on culture in the sense that the children and staff together not only reproduce or imitate but also create a new situation, primarily a shared culture which can give daily life a meaning for each and every one of them.

But this is not the case. I discovered that there are pre-schools where the staff discussed enthusiastically the importance of the home language training for Yugoslav children in pre-school but where they would not take up anything in any way connected with the Yugoslav children's origins. The reason for this was that they did not wish to point out and set apart the Yugoslav children and in this way expose them to mobbing. I was surprised to find that some of the pre-school staff looked on home language teaching as an isolated thing, a sort of vitamin pill which immigrant children swallow, in isolation, to be able to retain their language and self-esteem.

I shall leave these pre-schools without comment and concentrate on the gratifying results which I found elsewhere - the results of work characterised by spontaneous experiment where the children had the chance of reaching a closer community than simply sitting in the same room.

Often the pre-school teachers did not do much more than simply make use of the impulses generated by the Yugoslav children in the group. These experiments are admittedly at the bud stage but with conscious and planned effort can produce a thousand blooms. But it will be hard work.

A few pages of notes from the diaries of some pre-school teachers illustrate the activities which make these pre-schools into the melting pot for the multinational situation which exists in Sweden:

"- The whole group visits the Yugoslav grocery stores in Möllevångstorget. We are given sausage and sauerkraut to taste, which some of the children find very strong. One of the shopkeepers gives us a water melon to take back to school. Some of us Swedes will perhaps be tomorrow's customers in these shops.

- The Turkish Yugoslav children tell us about the festival of Bayram. The Turkish nursery school teacher helps out and explains to the group why the Muslim children are free from school for the festival.

- Swedish and Yugoslav children listen to records and look at picture books from Yugoslavia. Yugoslav children explain who Tito is.

- After celebrating Women's Day (8 March) together, the Swedish children also want to take flowers home to their mothers.

- The Yugoslav children have taught the Swedish children to count to ten and the names of colours and objects in the play room. The children sang congratulatory songs in two languages for the girl who had a birthday today.

- Turkish Yugoslav children ask me if I eat pork. I explain that I do since I do not belong to the same religion as they do. The children seem to accept this, but would be shocked if they heard that their home language teacher ate pork.

- Today the whole group has visited the Muslim congregation near here.

- Project day: the home language teacher helped by two Yugoslav mothers bakes some sort of pie for all the children to taste.

- When the children speak Serbo-croatian the Swedish children listen and are envious - try to pronounce a few words.

- Swedish children think it is fun to sing Yugoslav songs. By now they have got used to hearing a language other than Swedish in nursery school.

- A Swedish child has allied himself to the Yugoslav children and made friends among them. He often finds himself with conflicting loyalties and finds it difficult to choose sides.

- The Swedish children are curious about the Yugoslav home language teacher.

- Today we went to the leisure centre and saw a full-length Yugoslav film. Next week there will be a puppet theatre from Yugoslavia and we are planning to go.".

All this does not happen every day but, even so, when it happens it means a great deal both for the Yugoslav children and for the Swedish children in pre-school. Unusual games, rhymes, and word games which the Yugoslav children play in pre-school arouse the curiosity of the Swedish children, who in turn search for Swedish equivalents - something which is very valuable for the regeneration of a Swedish cultural heritage which is dying out. It is without doubt a unique experience when the Swedish children have direct contact with Yugoslav culture. And so much is contained in Yugoslav culture: several languages, three religions, two scripts and so on. The children of course first learn that part of the culture which their playmates bring to the group. These are the first impulses which stimulate the children to widen their knowledge with further information at a later date.

Journeys to the home country

An important part of life today for the second generation Yugoslav immigrants is the visit to the home country. This is something which is regularly discussed in the pre-school groups in question, at the beginning and at the end of the summer. Here the children must be used as resource at the same time as one teaches a little history and geography and a great deal of culture.

During one of my visits to the pre-schools I myself heard a Yugoslav boy describing his journey to Yugoslavia. He described the countries he had travelled through and his experiences in his parents' home village, with which he himself had emotional links since all his grandparents lived there.

He described the farm where beans, maize, pumpkins and water melons are grown, his grandfather up in the mountains herding sheep and his grandmother looking after cows, pigs, hens, the donkey and other animals on the simple but exciting farm. It was a lesson in geography and local history for both the Swedish and the Yugoslav children.

These attempts to share one's culture with Swedish friends can at first sight seem insignificant, but the overall effect is an altered climate in the children's group.

In one of the pre-schools which I visited it has become a tradition to celebrate Yugoslavia's national day in the pre-school. By moving the festivities from the homes and associations to the school, the way has been opened for contact with the parents who at such times come to the pre-school dressed in their national costumes bringing with them things which they show to all the children in the group. Even elderly people have, on such occasions, visited the pre-school.

What was it that enabled interculturalism to flourish in some pre-schools? I shall attempt to point out some factors which have at least made it easier for children and staff to learn about each others culture, to want to know about it and finaly to want to go on learning:

1. The presence of the home language teacher or some other bilingual member of staff as a focus for the group where the Yugoslav children's language and culture is an accepted fact.

2. Combined activities with Swedish children where the home language teacher is as much a teacher for all the children. This gives the Yugoslav children someone to look up to, to identify with. If one has managed to foster a good emotional climate within the group, with a positive attitude to the home language and culture then the foundation is laid for the children's desire to share these and also to accept and appreciate other cultures. Moreover to sing one's own songs quite openly and without shame, to listen to one's own stories, to know that grandmother's and grandfather's culture is acceptable in the group, must foster a feeling of confidence and a capacity for involvement.

   Although the children come into continual contact with the Swedish language and culture this does not mean that their home culture is weakened or destroyed, rather that it leads to integration of a new culture which is continuously increasing in value since, with their own culture as a basis, the children can open up more and more to accept the new in a positive way since it no longer seems strange and threatening.

   This give and take is by no means a sort of barter where one gives and replaces the loss by something one has received in return, but it is rather an enrichment of both the Swedish and the Yugoslav children's field of experience. At the same time there is here training towards openness and reciprocity.

   Interculturalism provides opportunities to prevent mobbing and is often valued by many for this effect, but it has a much wider meaning. Nevertheless if one has, with the help of interculturalism, managed to prevent mobbing then much has been gained.

3. The location of the pre-school in the area, the proximity to the school, leisure centre, societies and congregations with strong Yugoslav associations.

4. Contacts with adults who leave and fetch their children daily and the participation of the parents on project days dealing with the country's culture.

5. A vital factor has been the attitude of the Swedish personnel to the Yugoslav children's culture.

Changes

A number of positive changes have occurred in connection with these intercultural activities. Swedish children have received new impulses and stimuli to learn about other cultures and other languages and have acquired a new insight into Yugoslav customs and cultures. They have lost their tendency to look down on and to be suspicious of peoples they do not know - attitudes which they learn in the home. They have also discovered the basic similarity between themselves and these foreigners. The Swedish children who have Yugoslav playmates out of school as well, have experienced the family traditions from the inside and they have discovered values which they can appreciate.

Yugoslav children by sharing their culture with their Swedish friends have discovered a new dimension in their own culture and language which they previously were ashamed of. They now find it easier to speak their own language in the presence of Swedes, without being interrupted by the Swedes' comments, which were really provoked by the fear of being maligned in a language which they did not understand. The Yugoslav children needed a connection between the two cultures, between two social sectors, which has now been supplied and this leads to harmony between the various influences and expectations.

Yugoslav children are proud of having knowledge and experience which the Swedish children do not have and their pride makes them willing to share this knowledge and experience. The pressure to be like Swedish friends as much as possible is reduced and with that the temptation to turn their backs on their families and origins. Their mother tongue is not dismissed, their names are not mispronounced, their customs and beliefs are not expected to be Swedish. In short the Yugoslav children are not driven to deny their culture and their parents.

The overall effect for both Swedish and Yugoslav children is an emotional climate in pre-school which makes everyday life rich and varied. Sometimes both Swedish and Yugoslav children consider themselves as better and the others as worse, in inter-group conflicts, but even here the tension is reduced between the groups since both groups have a common experience. This is much more satisfactory than simply disowning each other.

Difficulties

There are difficulties too. Now for the second time in this report I would like to leave out the pre-schools where there is no form of inter-culturalism because to be Yugoslav in those groups is "not allowed" for fear, as many expressed it, that the children would be discriminated and singled out. This fear can be genuine. But there are other things which I cannot consider right - that the Swedish personnel are full of prejudice about the Yugoslav's family life. Nor do I approve of the self-appointed task of attempting to improve the Yugoslav family life by the one-sided introduction of Swedish values.

I shall deal with some difficulties arising in pre-schools where there is a positive attitude to the reciprocal effect between the cultures and where there is no assumption that religion, tradition, habits, ethics and

values of different sorts are inevitably bound to a certain culture but where these are a source of inspiration like a hearth which gives off sparks which ignite one for life.

Among the difficulties which exist, is the lack of co-operation between the Swedish staff and the Yugoslav home language and nursery school teachers. There seems to be very little co-operation or discussion about the aims of the work where Yugoslav children are involved. It seems to be especially difficult to discuss such areas as ethics, attitudes to life, beliefs and sexuality. A condition for helping the children to develop is that the teachers also create an atmosphere in their place of work so that they themselves can develop.

Contact with the parents is also unsatisfactory. The mutual exchange, which is the only possible way for the staff to really learn something about the child and its culture, is lacking. One can definitely say that there is no real dialogue between the personnel and the Yugoslav parents - a dialogue which would allow these parents to participate in what was happening to their children. The reasons why neither part makes these contacts are many, partly language difficulties and partly a fear of coming into conflict when discussing the upbringing of children for example.

During my visits to pre-schools I made a note of what the staff considered was important and what was said on different occasions in the various pre-schools is of importance and worth reporting:

"We cannot talk to them about bringing up children in Sweden; they do what they want anyway and it only upsets our relationship."

"Yugoslav parents do not come to the parents' meetings with the exception of a few active ones. So we have not done anything together with the parents."

"It is fun working with Yugoslav children, to learn their language, learn a lot about their religions and customs. My positive attitude to their culture has a great effect on the Swedish children's attitudes."

"We are powerless in our contact with the parents."

Those occasions on which the Yuogslav parents come to the pre-school are connected with project days or "topic days" when they act as hosts and provide food, songs, music, folk dances and information on national customs.

At the same time the Yugoslavs point out that they are not a people who only dance and sing, eat exotic foods etc but that there are other values which bear closer examination. They wish to be considered as Yugoslavs living and working in Sweden, retaining a good deal of the cherished folklore, but also very Swedish - with the intention of living, working and bringing up their children here and giving them a good start so that they can continue living in Sweden.

Many hopes and needs are today bound up in the pre-schools in the belief that these act as a centre for social contacts and activities in the housing area.

Pre-school in the local community

Pre-schools and schools in Rosengård - Malmö's immigrant area - will eventually find their role. In time they will be closely connected with the local community, a local community peopled by a Europe-in-miniature, immigrants and Swedes who, from the point of view of social grouping and status, do not differ very much from each other.

Neither the authorities nor the personnel in the schools, pre-schools and leisure centres who do not normally live in the area, can continue indefinitely pretending that the area does not have immigrant and Swedish residents with special needs. Already there are schools where 65% of the pupils are the children of immigrants who in one way or another have not chosen or not had time to adjust themselves to the Swedish society.

Many schools and pre-schools can be classified as immigrant institutions even now, places where it is not contemptible to be an immigrant. In fact, sometimes it can be a drawback to be Swedish, to be in a minority.

Despite the general wish in Sweden to work for a levelling of the differences between people, pre-schools and schools must realise that there are differences in the conditions under which many young people grow up, and act accordingly. In Rosengård pre-schools and schools there are children from almost all parts of the world, countries which newspapers and TV report on. These children are an invaluable resource which, if one can make use of it, can for example reduce the problems about why and how the teaching should be made international. The world is already present in many pre-schools and schools.

Often it is more important for pre-school and school personnel to talk about the vitamin content of peppers instead of allowing hundreds of children to talk about how peppers are cultivated in their grandparents' gardens in Yugoslavia, Greece or Turkey.

Some of the staff have the tendency to think of the children in Rosengård as living in a place where, after their hours in school or pre-school, they return to homes with a piano and parents who talk literature in the evenings. There are of course many exceptions. There are people who apply for posts in the local institutions and who want to work there. Some who have worked here for a long time say they would find it difficult to cope with the adjustment to working in other schools or pre-schools in the inner city. One way to understand the problems in Rosengård is to live here so that one can more easily absorb the atmosphere of the area, feel its pulse. Almost none of the staff working in the area live here. They come here every morning from the inner city or better class residential areas outside Malmö and meet children who have spent the night in homes where people fast, where ikons of saints hang on the walls covering the Swedish wallpaper, in homes where they are preparing for circumcision, in homes with empty bookshelves. And they meet without being aware of the people who have come here from different parts of the world and their children who were born here.

No matter how different people in Rosengård are, both among themselves and in comparison to the Swedes, this area is their common home. The atmosphere in the area is their common culture. The children were born here and daily, in one way or another come into contact with each other. These contacts become more obvious for every day that goes by. And the day these

children begin to take over and run some of the posts in the schools, pre-schools and social welfare administration and to present local solutions and participate in neighbourhood affairs, then we will have come a good deal nearer a more human neighbourhood community.

Sweden wishes to form her image as a multinational state with relationships binding this country more strongly to a world community. The country has irrevocably changed. The culturally and ethnically extremely homogenous Sweden which existed before 1945 is today rapidly on the way to becoming one of Europe's multinational nations - with all that that implies in the way of problems and advantages. Sweden has changed radically. Approximately one million of Sweden's 8 million population are immigrants or the children of post-war immigrants.

Immigration in Sweden is basically something positive both for Swedes and immigrants. There is no reason to ever doubt this but debates and reports, like this one, will of course first and foremost deal with the problems. I have tried to avoid them as much as possible and to write about the more positive aspects.

Other countries are more used to immigration and have a less homogenous indigenous population. Not even they have managed to develop the tolerance which is demanded of all involved. There is nothing to say that Sweden will be the happy exception but Sweden's children, the children of Swedes and immigrants, children who already know each other and live together have yet to have their say.

"Multicultural education as exemplified in the Stationers' Company's School, London"
(United Kingdom)

Case study

by

Robert D BAYNES

THE STATIONERS' COMPANY'S SCHOOL 1967-80: A STUDY IN ACCOMMODATION TO CHANGE

1. INTRODUCTION

It is easy for a teacher, caught up in the routine of classroom and school, to become encapsulated in a very small world of time and space. We then fall into the trap of believing that all difficulties are the result either of our own errors of judgement or the general bloody mindedness of other people. Some perhaps are: but it is necessary and salutory from time to time to stand outside our own routine, and examine our function in terms of more general experience. For no group of teachers is this more important than those teaching where the whole cultural balance is changing - where the presence of large groups of one or more ethnic minorities has over a very short period created a new multicultural society. It is healthy to recall that this is not a phenomenon unique to one corner of north London in the eighties; much of human history is the history of migration and settlement. There is much experience to pool and draw upon, not least from the North American continent. We can learn from this experience both techniques applicable in our own situations, but even more important, to work without impatience or despondency at a task that will need time as well as good intentions to bring to an acceptable conclusion.

I see my function in this paper as bringing to such a pool of knowledge the experience of a typical school in north London. I propose to outline the background of the pupils, describe the organisation and functioning of the school, the role of parents, and to assess some of the stresses and strains we have experienced.

2. THE PUPILS

The Stationers' Company's School is a secondary boys' comprehensive which serves an area of north London covered by the Borough of Haringey, which has long been attractive to migrant groups; in the years between the wars groups from Eastern Europe, and since the war large numbers from the new Commonwealth. The pattern can best be illustrated by comparative figures:

Births to new Commonwealth mothers 1976: (% of all live births)

	Mediterranean	Indian sub-continent	African	West Indian	Others	Total
England and Wales	0.5	3.7	1.1	1.2	0.6	7.2
Greater London	2.1	6.9	4.6	5.3	1.8	20.7
Haringey	13.2	4.5	6.5	16.5	2.4	41.7

(Figures taken from Social Trends 1979 Edition HMSO)

Within the school there is a greater concentration even than in Haringey as a whole of pupils from settler families, as the following chart indicates (these figures are for 1979):

Area of origin	Year groups - Percentage of total school population I	II	III	IV	V	SIXTH FORM	TOTAL
Africa	2	-	3	11	3	-	2
Asia	15	8	14	11	10	16	13
British Isles	23	31	34	28	27	38	31
Cyprus	24	26	18	19	27	21	20
Mainland Europe	8	3	6	7	4	6	7
Turkey	4	6	5	4	6	5	5
West Indies	24	23	23	20	23	14	22

Thus, the school has an increasing proportion of pupils from settler families. In 1966, the school's last year as a grammar school before reorganisation as a comprehensive school, there were about 30 pupils out of a total of 600 from settler families. The change in ethnic balance has been swift. The other obvious distinguishing feature is the wide spread of our ethnic groups. A survey in the mid-seventies revealed that our pupils returned home at the end of the day spent in the ambience of an English speaking school to talk to their parents in 25 distinct different mother languages.

Whatever their formulated intentions may have been when they left their homes, it is clear that most of the parents and their sons are in England for permanent settlement. The majority came for economic reasons which, even in time of recession, still hold good. Some of the Greek Cypriots from northern Cyprus joined us after the Turkish invasion in 1975, and some East African Asians left Kenya and Uganda for political reasons. Over the past 10 years we have seen a shift from a majority of pupils who were born overseas (and who either came here with their parents or, in the case of many West Indian boys, joined their parents at a later stage), to a majority of pupils who were born in this country as second generation settlers. A small number of families do make the journey back to their countries of origin, but even of these some return to England, this time permanently. Clearly we are not dealing with immigrant "guest workers" who expect and are expected to return to their place of origin with their children. We must therefore educate both the settlers and the host community for an inevitable cultural modification which has been brought about by needs on both sides: the need of the host community for workers, and the need of the settlers for jobs.

3. ORIGINS OF THE SCHOOL:

The Stationers' Company's School, which found itself 13 years ago somewhat unexpectedly facing a new task, is one of 14 secondary comprehensive schools administered by the London Borough of Haringey. It was founded in the City of London in 1858 by the Stationers' Company to provide education for the sons of Freemen, that is men engaged in the various branches of the printing and publishing trade. Within 30 years the improvement in railway communication had resulted in an exodus of the resident population of the City of London to the outer suburbs. The school followed the population, and a new site was established in north London. The school no longer catered specifically for the sons of printers, but evolved as a grammar school serving the local area. During this period the local education authority took increasing financial responsibility for running the school. In 1967, in line with the general change to comprehensive reorganisation, the school ceased to be selective, doubling

its numbers to ensure a reasonably broad curriculum for the wider ability range. Thus, although the school has continued to cherish its tradition and its connection with a city company, that tradition has been one of continual change and modification to meet the educational needs of the age, and not the needs of the age that had just passed.

Even in 1967, the problems of reorganising a grammar school as a comprehensive school seemed to produce more weighty problems than those of absorbing immigrant groups of differing cultures. We were immediately concerned with problems of size and internal communication, and of curriculum - the teachers from the grammar school and the teachers from the secondary modern school tradition had to learn and respect the expertise of the other. Few of us as teachers had previously coped with an ability range that stretched from the potential Oxford or Cambridge scholar to the boy who came to us unable to read. Both the problem of size of institution and the problem of range of ability were real , and while we attempted to get to grips with them, we tended to underestimate cultural differences. However, we gradually began to learn about our new communities and their needs.

4. SOCIAL ORGANISATION:

The social organisation that was established in the new comprehensive school was thus not specifically geared to the needs of pupils from immigrant families. The unit of social organisation remains the traditional form group, presided over by a form tutor. Each year group is the responsibility of a senior and experienced teacher, who has the title of pastoral head. We have, by chance rather than by design, members of the teaching staff from most of the pupils' major communities. (By chance rather than by design, since they were appointed because they were the best teachers of biology or mathematics available rather than for their origin.) These teachers themselves have deliberately avoided appearing as representative of one community more than another, but clearly they are invaluable as interpreters of their own community to the rest of the school staff. The Governing Body has also, again by chance rather than design, a member from each of our largest minority groups, from Cyprus and the Caribbean. The supportive services of the Borough are available with advice and practical measures when called upon by the school pastoral staff, and we now have a school-based social worker who is well placed to co-ordinate the resources necessary to assist a pupil in need, whatever his appropriate cultural needs may be.

5. THE CURRICULUM:

There is an important distinction to be made between multicultural education, which might be defined as the contribution all schools should make in a society that is receiving minority cultural groups, and education in a multicultural school. Schools in areas of the country where there has been little or no settlement of cultural minorities probably need a more self-conscious programme of multicultural education than we do. There is a sense in which in our school we do not "teach" about multicultural harmony but "live it". Kipling, who has his insights, displays the taproot of prejudice:

"The stranger within my gate,
He may be true or kind,
But he does not talk my talk
I cannot feel his mind.
I see the face and the eyes and the mouth,
But not the soul behind.

The men of my own stock
They may do ill or well
But they tell the lies I am wonted to;
They are used to the lies I tell,
And we do not need interpreters
When we go to buy and sell".

Formal education may move some of the obstacles to mutual interpretation; living together gets us used to each others' lies - and each others' kindnesses.

There are obviously certain curriculum requirements in a multicultural school to meet the special needs of the pupils. They can be listed:

a. The provision of English teaching for those whose mother tongue is not English. For this purpose we have two teachers working full time, and in close co-operation with the Borough Language Centre. The pupils divide into three categories:

i. Beginners. A parent is likely to arrive in my room at any stage of the term with a son recently arrived from overseas, whose entire English is "Good morning!" and a beaming smile. (I recognise his feeling, since I operate in Cyprus with "Kali mera" and a beaming smile too.) We find that such a boy will become one of our best motivated pupils, and that he will very speedily learn enough English to see him through the basic transactions of his life. The teacher of English as a second language cannot of course assume a common linguistic starting point. Most of the pupils will be Greek, or Gujerati, or Turkish or Urdu speaking. A minority will be Rumanian, Persian, Spanish and Italian.

ii. Intermediate. At this stage pupils will have learnt enough English to attend some class lessons. Those of us who are not language experts need guidance about our own language usage, and from time to time invite our language colleagues to sit in on those of our lessons that include their own intermediate pupils. Our avoidance of convoluted sentence constructions and unnecessary passive tenses probably benefits everyone.

iii. Advanced. This class caters for the pupil who is taking a range of public examinations, possibly leading to university entrance. His general competence in English may be by now quite sound, but he still lacks the facility to express ideas (which he clearly understands) in reasonably clear English sentences.

b. Mother tongue teaching

We believe that the ability to speak and think in two languages is an advantage to be exploited. On the other hand, we do not feel that mother tongue teaching is something the school should impose - we encourage it, and make it possible when there is a clear initiative from the parents and the minority community. We therefore offer two possibilities:

i. Where a minority community takes an initiative to establish the teaching of its own language in the school, we welcome and develop this initiative. The Greek Cypriot community, with initial financial support from the Cyprus High Commission in London, began

what has been a most successful Greek language programme within the school. The local educational authority has now accepted all the financial obligations of this programme, which takes some 120 pupils at all levels up to "A" level GCE*. About half the teaching is within the normal school teaching day; other lessons at the request of the parents themselves, take place immediately after school is over, so that the pupil avoids the necessity of losing other subjects to fit in his Greek.

ii. It would not be possible to cater for all our minority languages in this way, even if there were other comparable initiatives. We therefore encourage pupils who have a second language to prepare privately for the appropriate public examination, and we provide examination facilities when the time comes.

We are aware that in encouraging the preservation of the mother tongue we are not primarily preparing pupils for a return to the country of their parents' origin. We are helping to preserve what is perhaps the most important safeguard for cultural continuity and at a very practical level we are preserving the possibility of communication between generations of the same family.

c. Religious education

Religious education is compulsory in English schools, with the proviso that parents may withdraw their children from periods of religious education. Our religious education staff are in fact committed Christians. They offer a syllabus which includes lessons on all the major religions, and allows a great deal of open-minded discussion on the kind of personal, moral and ethical problem that pupils are certain to encounter sooner or later. We hope that our approach to religious education reflects the view expressed by a parent who wrote to me on his son's admission "We are a practising Jewish family; nevertheless I wish my son to attend religious education lessons, because I wish him to grow up with a respect, based on knowledge, of other men's beliefs".

Two years ago, at the request of Bishop Gregorios of the Greek Orthodox Church, we began a weekly period after school for those pupils of the Greek Orthodox faith whose parents wished them to have instruction from an Orthodox priest. The Muslim community may well wish to make comparable arrangements in the future.

d. History

A former Greek Cypriot colleague on the staff of the school, Mr Savvas Michael, wrote in an article on the approach of English schools to minority cultures, "Stationers' School has responded to the interests of immigrant children, looking to the homelands of the pupils for inspiration, and offering opportunities which shows that the school values the special customs and culture of every ethnic group. The school accepts these values as an integral part of contemporary British society and accepts that everybody has a history". The consequence of this acceptance was at first to explore the possibility of projects on the history of our minority cultural groups, including one on the triangle formed by West Africa - the West Indies - West Haringey, the historical route of the black Afro-Caribbean - north Londoner. These did not strike

---

* "A" level GCE corresponds to the final school leaving examination

the kind of response we expected. The lack of enthusiasm over the slave trade contrasted with the immediate recognition of relevance of a very traditional lesson on an aspect of English constitutional history of the 17th century, about the imprisonment of Walter Erle for failing to pay the king a forced loan. One of our black fifth form pupils had been arrested on an issue which reached the national press and Habeas Corpus, and arrest on "suspicion of intent" to commit a crime were immediate issues. We have now had to reconsider what is really relevant. Our present history syllabus covers an outline of world history, but does not ignore those issues of English history which, for good or ill have created the society we all share if we live in this island.

e. Literature

Both the head of the English department and the school librarian are sensitive to the part played by the written word in the creation of cultural attitudes and self images. We try to avoid the negativism of censorship, in two ways. First, we try to provide books that will widen rather than narrow cultural horizons. Second, we encourage the discussion of prejudice rather than isolation from prejudice. Curiously, our present generation of pupils will tend to borrow the book of fact rather than the book of fiction. They are more likely to be consulting the Guiness Book of Records than reading Chinua Achebe or George Lamming.

f. General

All our pupils follow a common core programme during their first three years in the school, with provision for compensatory withdrawal lessons for slow readers, pupils with difficulties in mathematics and pupils who need to learn English as a second language. During the fourth and fifth years they must continue with English and mathematics, and select five other subjects from a broad choice. Almost all pupils choose at least one science, and technical subjects are oversubscribed. In the sixth form senior pupils tend to choose mathematics and the sciences, or geography and economics in preference to the literary subjects. This reflects in part a coldly realistic appraisal of job prospects, among a group of boys for whose families education is primarily a mechanism for upward social and economic mobility. It also reflects the fact that many of our most able pupils, who will leave us to enter university courses, are operating with English as their second language, and feel they have not yet achieved the familiarity with the nuances of English language that, say, a study of English literature (Shakespeare included) would require. Technical and engineering subjects are popular for the same reason but a national shortage of technical teachers has limited expansion in this direction.

6. Parental involvement:

A school that is catering for a wide range of cultural minorities has more need than most to involve parents. A channel of communication is important so that the school may understand the hopes and fears of the parents, so that the parents may understand what the school is attempting, and so that parent and teacher can combine to frustrate the cheerful devices of the pupil who tries to play one off against the other - more than usually easy where there is a cultural difference to exploit. Our Parents' Association

has had successes and failures. By chance, again, the executive of the association has representatives of all the major cultural groups, and their own amicable co-operation is itself an object lesson in good community relations. The executive can, and does, express to the school the wishes of the parents. The association organises both social evenings, and meetings when, for example, the work of a school department can be explained to them. The social evening run by the Greek parents with help from parents of all other communities, is one of the highlights of the school's calendar. On the other hand, the admirable and valuable work done by the Parents' Association is limited to a small group of enthusiasts. It is the parents who do not take part in the associations' activities that we most need to contact.

Clearly this does not necessarily mean that these parents are totally without interest in their sons' education. Parents on shift work, or working long hours to bring in sufficient wages to keep a family decently, do not have the time or energy to add a meeting at school to their long day. In some communities there is no strong habit of co-operation between school and home. Too often, however, it is the over-worked mother of a single parent family who finds it most difficult to keep in touch with school, except in time of crisis. The figures published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office in "Social Trends 1979" make the point starkly:

One parent families (England and Wales)

	1971	1976
Women	500,000	660,000
Men	70,000	90,000
Total	570,000	750,000

The number of single parent families has thus increased by 32% in five years. My observation suggests that this proportion is not equally spread among the communities represented in the school. Among the Greek community, and among the Asian community there seems to be a far greater family stability, well rooted in their cultures. Indeed, many of the fears expressed to me from these communities are that this stability will be harder to preserve in the next generation. My own feeling is that the major cultural differences between my own pupils is not between black and white, or between immigrant and indigenous but between those whose cultures provide a stable family background, and those which no longer appear to do so. In their survey of the communities of New York, "Beyond The Melting Pot" Glazer and Moynihan comment, "Migration, uprooting, urbanisation, always create problems ... when the fundamental core of organisation, the family, is already weak, the magnitude of these problems may be staggering".

Families of the Greek Cypriot community, as is now clear, are well organised to make their collective wishes known, and to give collective support to the school. They have certain advantages over other minority communities: they come from a single island, are identified by a common language, are mostly members of the same Orothodox faith, and have articulate middle-class spokesmen and leaders. The Asian communities, on the other hand, are divided by geography - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, East Africa - by religion, Hindu, Moslem, Christian - and by language. The most likely point of organisation for Asians from the Indian sub-continent would appear

to be Islam. Our Caribbean families come from 11 separate islands, and Guyana. The geographic distances are immense, and a family will think of itself primarily as Jamaican or Bajan or Trinidadian rather than West Indian. The Caribbean community will combine very effectively in crisis, as for example when a boy from the community is brought before the courts on what the community believes to be an inequitable charge. It has fewer resources to keep in being an organisation to give the kind of humdrum daily support which is less glamorous than holding a placard outside a courthouse, but may be, in the long run, much more valuable to the community. This is a great disappointment to those Caribbean parents whose personal contribution to the wellbeing of the community has been enormously valuable, but who have despaired of injecting their own enthusiasm into others.

In one respect, the views pressed by parents need to be evaluated with care. Social conditions, and certainly conditions in schools, have changed very greatly over the past 20 or 30 years, but because we have lived through the changes they have been less immediately perceptible. In the countries of the new Commonwealth conditions have often changed even more remarkably - often social changes reflecting a totally new political balance. But what the Jamaican or Cypriot parent remembers is school as it was "at home" 30 years ago. In London many Greek Cypriot parents continue to insist that their children should have single sex secondary education, in accordance with what they believe to be the cultural pattern of their community: and when for example I point out mildly that there are no single sex secondary schools in Cyprus today, they regard me with mild disbelief, as having obviously misunderstood what I saw for myself in Cyprus.

7. Stresses and strains:

Two areas of special difficulty have already been noted; the problem of size of school, and the problem of the single parent family. In a sense these place the same kind of pressure on a pupil. In a small school every pupil will be known to every member of staff; in a large school this is not so. Thus, the sense of belonging to a community that is small enough for identification is missing. I am sure that the increasing demands made on a teacher to act as surrogate parent because a pupil's family is collapsing about his ears cannot be met adequately in a small school, much less a large one. A single sex boys' school may well appear in the eyes of a deserted wife the ideal substitute for a missing father in her son's upbringing. We must feel very sorry for the boy who has no father present as his model in the home, most particularly when there is a cultural divide between home and school, but it is foolish to believe that schools can be effective substitutes.

A matter of very considerable concern in London has been the comparative failure in achievement of pupils from the Caribbean community. It has been a subject of publicity in the press, and gave rise to Bernard Coard's polemic, "How The West Indian Child is Disadvantaged in the English School System". (It was not without significance that the cover to this pamphlet showed a single parent with two children - a fair comment, if not intended by the author.) The entry to university in October 1979 from Stationers' illustrates the balance:

	Africa	Asia	British Isles	Cyprus	Europe	Turkey	West Indies
% in whole school	2	13	31	20	7	5	22
% entering university	5	23	30	27	10	0	5

The Greek Cypriot and Asian communities are producing more than their share, the indigenous population breaks about even, and the Turkish and West Indian communities have less than their share of university places. There is however a reasonable expectation that these proportions are not fixed in some inexorable platonic educational heaven. The best "O" level result in 1980 by a fifth year pupil was by a boy from the Caribbean community. I should dearly like to see a boy from the Caribbean win an open scholarship for Oxford or Cambridge, since I believe this will do more than anything else for the confidence of his community. It already enjoys complete self-confidence in athletics and games, and the admiration of other communities for these achievements.

On the whole children are more sensible than adults about the business of living together in a multicultural community. Of course attitudes vary. On one occasion I was invited to take part in a seminar at a local college of education, where teachers in training were studying the Greek Cypriot community. I took with me a Greek teacher colleague, a Greek parent and three Greek pupils. In the course of the seminar one of the students asked my pupils whether they chose their friends exclusively from the Greek Cypriot community. The first answered that in the sixth form this would limit your choice, and his friends came from various communities. The second, younger, said that most of his friends were Greek, and he felt more comfortable that way. The third, who had only recently arrived from Cyprus, said all his friends were English - and then rather spoilt the effect by explaining that this was the best way to learn good English quickly.

When I go each day into the dining hall, where the boys sit at octagonal tables for their meal, choosing their place at random, I glance round at the composition of each group. It is very rare indeed that I see a table monopolised by a single community, and more usually the mix is complete. I must also confess that when I hear that two boys have been fighting in the playground (such things happen even in the best regulated circles) I give a sigh of relief to learn that it is two Jamaican boys, or two Irish boys or two Anglo-Saxon boys who have been knocking hell out of each other. I think it is now well established that my real head-magisterial wrath is reserved for cross-community fights; the boys know as well as I do that what might start as a boys' quarrel about nothing in particular could escalate into something like a race riot if it were to be allowed - neither they nor I wish it.

We have to recognise that the reasonably happy accommodation between our different communities is still in a state of unstable equilibrium. Outside the school we are continually made aware of powerful ideologies from both political extremes, ready to pounce upon some foolish comment or error of judgement. If that were to happen, then the mutual confidence gradually built up over the past decade would need to be begun all over again.

The problem of confidence is bound up with the problem of identity. Within the school pupils have an identity. We even have a school song, in the best Victorian tradition, which my sixth form insist we continue to sing, despite my very best endeavours to suppress it decently, beginning:

"Old boys and new boys
We're proud to be stationers".

(Perhaps their instincts in the matter are better than mine.) My younger pupils whatever their ethnic origins, are likely to be totally committed supporters of Tottenham Hotspur or Arsenal, the two local and prestigious football clubs. They are north Londoners. But we do not yet use terms like black British or Cypriot British with any ease. Is Winston an African, or a Jamaican or English? Is Kyriacou from Kyrenia, Greek or Cypriot or English? One of my pupils, born in London returned to St. Lucia with his parents. He knew no French creole, and was shunned in the playground of the comprehensive school in Castries, so his mother told me, as "that English boy". He had to be brought back to England. It may well be that the boy from an indigenous family is equally beset by problems of identity. It has to be firmly borne in mind that at a school like Stationers' the indigenous are in the minority, a minority of 25%. For obvious, though possibly inequitable reasons, we do not encourage a specifically indigenous minority identity. Perhaps one of the results of this general uncertainty about who we are is an uncertainty about what we as a total community own collectively and ought therefore to cherish. Vandalism of public and private property is not the problem of one school alone, but the knowledge that you are part of a national problem is thin comfort when you contemplate mindless and costly damage.

At another, institutional level I believe we are lacking a sense of identity, because we are not clear about the direction in which we are moving. Twenty years ago, as head of a small grammar school in the north of England, I found the role of the school was unquestioned by parents, pupils and staff. We all knew what we were there for. Consensus among a staff of 16 teachers was easily reached on most issues - probably over a cup of coffee at morning break. We lack the same certainty of aim and purpose in a large comprehensive, and consensus among a staff of 70 teachers requires more negotiation and persuasion than can conventiently be encompassed in a coffee break, even supposing one could gather all one's colleagues in one place on a well spread campus. Imposed upon this we have the uncertainties of our direction as a multicultural society. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration in 1973 reported:

"There is indeed no consensus about the future nature of the multiracial society. We see the first task for schools as equipping their pupils with awareness of an increasingly diverse society, of presenting the world as it is now, and not where some of the hoarier history books in circulation have left it. On these foundations the young will develop their own attitudes to a plural society. It is not for the schools or for the Department of Education to present a blue print of what society should be."

Even select committees cannot work miracles, and this is a realistic warning that in the establishment of a stable multicultural society there are no short cuts to a universally accepted accommodation. It will take patience, perhaps the patience of several generations. We cannot be certain what form our new society will take, but there are enough examples about the

world of failure in the accommodation of cultures to make us resolve that whatever the ultimate solution may prove to be, we must reach it. In the meantime, teaching in a multicultural school will continue to be at times uncertain, confusing, frustrating; it will, at times, bring upon the teacher's head criticism of all kinds, and from all directions; it will, at times, lead to errors and misjudgements. But the beleaguered teacher can grasp the sure reality that, because we cannot afford a failure of patience or of nerve, there can be no more vital job to be brought to a successful conclusion.

"A seminar in Ankara for host country teachers"
(Turkey)

Case study

by

Hamdi Binay

In 1977 Turkey joined the Teacher Bursaries Scheme of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC), which had been established to foster closer relations between Council of Europe member states. To that end, national authorities have organised seminars or courses which have focused on specific issues of common interest. One of the major concerns of the Turkish Government in recent years has been the education of Turkish migrant workers' children, particularly those in Europe. This concern is shared by the governments of European countries where such children reside. It is natural, therefore, that under the CDCC Teacher Bursaries Scheme Turkey has directed its attention towards seminars for those involved in the teaching of Turkish migrant workers' children.

Apart from the benefits that accrue to the children, experience has shown that from the point of view of teacher training, a learning experience such as that provided by these seminars and courses, broadens and deepens the relations between the country of emigration and the host country.

Turkey's participation in the CDCC Teacher Bursaries Scheme has centred on the provision of an annual course for a limited number of educationists from countries where Turkish migrant workers' children are being educated. Participation is generally restricted to about seven or eight different European countries. Owing to the linguistic diversity among the host countries, the medium of communication has, of necessity, been restricted to either English or French; but other European languages, particularly German, are used when appropriate.

Travel expenses are borne by the Council of Europe while the Turkish Government meets the costs of board, accommodation, official internal travel and all expenses associated with the running of the course. In 1980, administrators, educationists and teachers from CDCC member states concerned with the education of Turkish migrant workers' children were invited by Turkey, through the Council of Europe, to attend a seven-day seminar in Ankara devoted to a study of the Turkish education system, together with an introduction to its socio-economic and cultural background. There follows below a detailed description and analysis of the seminar.

The seminar provided:

i. an introduction to the Turkish education system (Kindergarten, primary and secondary schools, general and vocational lycées, etc), by officials from the Ministry of Education, discussions, documentation;

ii. a series of particularly fruitful visits to a Kindergarten, primary school, vocational school, schools for handicapped children, town school, village school, scientific secondary school, teacher training college;

iii. invitations to several cultural events;

iv. a useful exchange of views among the participants.

During the first two days of the seminar, the Turkish education system was outlined and examined. The remaining period was devoted to the specific issues of the education of Turkish migrant workers' children.

The policy of the Turkish Ministry of Education towards such children was explained in detail and the problems faced by participants in the education of these children were identified and discussed. The latter problems arise namely because Turkish migrant workers' children come from a different social and cultural environment, and because of the difficulties associated with differing education policies and practices in the member states. The seminar thus provided a valuable forum for discussing the various approaches adopted by member states towards the education of Turkish migrant workers' children, some of which were found to be of general interest and applicability.

The lectures were both helpful and informative and the visits to schools enabled the participants to understand more fully both the Turkish education system and the problems faced by many Turkish children living abroad.

The visits to schools were especially instructive, not only because of the opportunities they provided for discussion with the head teachers and their staff but also because of the resulting direct contact with the children. The participants' first-hand experience of the social and educational milieu of children sharing a background very similar to those living in their countries made a significant and lasting impression. In a number of schools this was heightened by contact with repatriate children, thanks to whom they were able to identify and understand not only problems associated with the adaptation to the educational, social and cultural values of the host country but also, and that is equally important, those resulting from reintegration into the Turkish education system and Turkish society. It is to be hoped that the lessons derived from these experiences will be made use of by the participants in the classroom.

It was unanimously agreed that Turkish migrant workers' children should be made familiar with some aspects of their national education system in addition to receiving the education provided in the host countries. The number of Turkish teachers responsible for mother tongue tuition in some receiving countries is inadequate and, moreover, as these classes are optional, some children never come into direct contact with Turkish culture.

Accordingly, it is essential that foreign teachers concerned with the education of Turkish migrant workers' children should themselves acquire personal knowledge of Turkey and be able to appreciate and understand that country's history, society and educational system. To acquire such background knowledge, teachers should be encouraged to attend seminars and courses of this nature. That is particularly important for those teachers concerned with pupils who enter the host country's education system half way through their school career. The period of linguistic, social and educational adjustment demands from the teacher a familarity with the culture of the pupil's country of origin which in turn will make for easier transition to higher education or employment, and, what is more, the problems resulting from reintegration in Turkey must not be forgotten.

Target group

Attendance at the seminar is restricted to educationists from the European host countries having some responsibility for the education of Turkish migrant workers' children. The first seminars were conducted in both English and French, but in view of the problems of translation and interpretation, the 1980 seminar was conducted in English alone. From 1980 onwards, it will

be conducted alternately in the two languages. Everything is done to ensure that participants come from as many countries as possible, and priority is given to those whose experience is likely to be widely disseminated. It has been most encouraging to note that participants at the seminars have always been highly motivated. In the 1980 seminar, the 12 participants came from Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden and the Federal Republic of Germany.

During the seminar, largely in response to the wishes of the participants, there was no group activity. Language was occasionally a problem as some participants were not very fluent in English, but by and large communication was possible through the medium of other languages. We suggest that, in selecting participants, national liaison officers should try to ensure that only those who are proficient in the language used in the seminars be accepted. In 1980, for example, German was more widely spoken than English. Language is thus a basic problem, especially when the participants' command of the official language of the seminar varies to such an extent. Some participants were familiar with Turkey and a number even spoke Turkish. Their presence was invaluable, particularly during visits and discussions with both Turkish teachers and students, and the inclusion of at least one participant with experience of Turkey and a knowledge of Turkish in future seminars should be encouraged.

All the participants displayed much interest in obtaining information about life in Turkey, and it is hoped that this, together with their collective experience, will lead to the speedy solution of many of the practical problems of Turkish migrant children.

The Turkish Government's principal objective is to ensure that Turkish migrant workers' children can integrate easily and swiftly in the education system of the host country so that they can profit from the wide range of educational opportunities available in that country and acquire qualifications and skills which will enable them to participate with equal opportunities in the labour market. At the same time, the Turkish Government realises how important it is for Turkish migrant workers' children to retain links with the culture of their country of origin, in order to facilitate the reintegration of those children whose families return to Turkey. The Turkish Government has, therefore, offered encouragement and assistance by providing teachers from Turkey to work in schools in Europe and elsewhere where there is a high proportion of Turkish migrant workers' children. The experience gained by these teachers is, in turn, of benefit to Turkey. In recent years Turkish has been increasingly adopted in the Federal Republic of Germany as a second language, and there is evidence to suggest that this will spread to other host countries. Indeed, the study of the Turkish language is open to the children of the host countries and is not restricted to those of migrant workers. The introduction of Turkish lessons as a normal part of the school curriculum will lead to greater participation by Turkish migrant workers' children, in cases where hitherto such courses were only available on an informal basis outside the formal education system. The inclusion of this tuition in the school curriculum is likely to lead to a greater understanding and appreciation among host country teachers and ensure closer co-operation between them and the resident Turkish teachers. In this respect, the seminars have a vital part to play in developing an understanding among host country teachers of the educational, social and cultural background of Turkish migrant workers' children.

Seminar arrangements

During the seminar each morning was devoted to lectures and discussions on predetermined topics. The topics covered during the 1980 seminar included:

- Organisation and administration of the Turkish education system;
- Pre-school education;
- Basic education;
- General and vocational education;
- Socio-cultural background of Turkey;
- Turkish Government policy towards the children of migrant workers;
- The problems of repatriate children of migrant workers;
- The Council of Europe's Project No. 7 on "The education and cultural development of migrants";
- Education of migrant workers' children in the receiving countries.

In the afternoons, visits to schools and other educational institutions were arranged. The lectures were given by officials from the Ministry of Education and university lecturers. For those whose English was weak, interpreters were available to deal with specific queries.

The participants suggested greater involvement of local Turkish teachers in the seminar.

The lectures on the Turkish education system were supported by a variety of visual aids. It was generally agreed that the visits to schools could have been more effective, had there been greater opportunity for formal and informal discussion with the teachers on the educational and administrative problems of the school.

Nonetheless, these visits enabled the participants to see at first hand the teaching techniques and methodology practised in Turkey, teacher/pupil ratio, pre-school and adult educational activities and the structure, management and organisation of the schools. On a number of occasions, participants met repatriate Turkish migrant workers' children and their discussions with them were especially fruitful.

Difficulties

The Turkish Government attaches great importance to the seminar and the education of Turkish migrant workers' children. However, there is room for improvement in the organisation, structure and arrangements for the seminar. It was difficult to provide participants with lecture notes and papers before their arrival in Turkey, as the names of the candidates were not sent to the Ministry in time. Had the participants been able to read the background material prior to the seminar, discussions would have been even more useful.

Failure and success

The time available for questions, explanations and discussion was perhaps too short. This too might have been remedied, had selected material been available to the participants prior to the seminar. It would also have been desirable to arrange for wider participation by local educationists, from all levels of the education system, since that would, in turn, have intensified discussion. Their presence would have made for greater familiarity with local education practice and innovation which might be relevant to training programmes in the host countries. Quite apart from the content of the seminar and the relevance of lectures, visits and discussions, the very fact that a group of people concerned with the same problem were brought together and could thus share their experiences and get to know each other on a personal basis as members of a wider European community constitutes an achievement of immense and perhaps immeasurable value. But, of course, there were tangible results and these were numerous. For example, following the visits to the Ministry's Material Production Centre, a number of co-produced materials were agreed upon. Mealtimes provided an opportunity for establishing close relationships, discussion and sharing experiences.

The lectures were well prepared and well received by the participants. Discussion was intense and interest sustained. The presentations were supported by visual aids and graphic material which made the complex themes more comprehensible. The participants were generally enthusiastic and made many demands on the organisers for further material and statistics.

Participants were well prepared: for example, a representative from the Netherlands was able to show slides illustrating the situation of migrant children from many countries in a secondary school in Amsterdam. This stimulated discussion on intercultural relationships. It was agreed that this kind of presentation should be encouraged for future seminars and that papers should be prepared by all participants on the education of all migrant children in the host countries and not simply those from Turkey.

The seminar established beyond all doubt the major role of education in the development of intercultural relationships. Sightseeing visits to centres such as Capadoce also gave participants an insight into the history of the country, its size and cultural and social diversity. These visits, though relatively short, not only profoundly influenced the participants' understanding of Turkey, but generated close relationships within the group which led to a greater awareness and appreciation of their respective problems.

The desirability of incorporating a more significant and perhaps extensive travel programme into future seminars should be given serious consideration.

For future seminars, consideration might also be given to the inclusion of discussions and lectures on the reasons behind emigration and its effects on Turkey and the socio-economic situation of the Turkish migrant workers in receiving countries. Though these topics were touched on during the seminar, they should be incorporated into the official programme. Documentation relevant to each lecture should be supplied in advance of the seminar so that participants are better briefed and better use is made of the time available. This is particularly true of that part of the seminar concerned simply with the transmission of factual information; for example, the administration and organisation of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

The Council of Europe should request reports from participants on the education of migrant workers' children in their countries as basic discussion documents.

This evaluation of the 1980 seminar is largely based on personal impressions and informal discussions with the participants: it has not been the result of any systematic evaluation exercise. To focus future seminars more closely on the needs of the Turkish migrant workers' children a formal assessment at the end of each seminar is necessary. This would involve the completion by the participants of a carefully planned questionnaire before they return home. If time permits, this could be supplemented by personal interviews between the organisers and the individual participants at which the completed questionnaire would form the basis for discussion. Ideally, this should then be followed up after a period of six months or one year by on-the-spot contacts between the Turkish organisers and selected participants in their work situation. This would have the added advantage of enabling the Turkish organisers to see the problems of the teachers at first hand and it would have very beneficial effects on the arrangements for and content of future seminars. In addition, it would be valuable if participants presented a more general but detailed report on the seminar on their return home.

Despite the absence of any formal evaluation, it is obvious that the seminars represent a useful and valuable contribution to the improvement of the education of Turkish migrant workers' children in the host countries and encourage greater contact and understanding among the nations of Europe. The Turkish Government is anxious that the seminars should continue and welcomes the opportunity of making a positive contribution to the wellbeing of its citizens abroad and the societies of the host countries.

"An intercultural training course for foreign and French teachers by the Grenoble CEFISEM" (France)

Case study

by

Michelle Huart

The project described below is fundamental in the intercultural training of teachers: that is training them to have an intercultural approach to all their educational, didactical and methodological work.

The course was held at the Grenoble CEFISEM* on 2, 3 and 4 June 1980 and was attended by a group of French and non-French teachers employed in the state primary education system in France. Some explanation will be needed, eg of the place in which the course was held.

The CEFISEM

Following a series of measures on the schooling of migrant children and their introduction to the French language - the language of the educational system in which they are obliged to spend varying periods of time - the Centres de formation et d'information pour la scolarisation des enfants de migrants (CEFISEM) (training and information centres for the school education of migrants' children) were set up, beginning in 1975, by the Schools Directorate of the Ministry of Education, as a means of improving the education of such children in our society and school system by giving special training to teachers and other socio-educational personnel involved in, when not wholly responsible for, their education. The task of the centres, thus, in an area often extending beyond their département or even the académie in which they are located, is to organise and run activities designed to create awareness, provide information and training in varying forms and on varying scales, in relation to the needs of the relevant personnel. They have been set up as instruction units in écoles normales (1) because the problem first arose at the primary level, most migrant children being enrolled there.

Four centres have been set up recently, making a total of 11 (the first were placed in regions of high-density immigration); with this number, the country can be more adequately covered and it becomes possible to provide for different types of need among migrants.

The local situation

The Grenoble CEFISEM was opened in 1976 and operates in several départements in a region with one of the highest migrant populations - both early and recent arrivals - in France: the Rhône-Alpes region, including Grenoble; foreigners account for over 9% of the region's population, which represents around 13% of the total foreign population in France. The figures below show a few aspects of this situation, for the Grenoble region:

---

(1) Colleges of education providing initial and in-service training for primary school teachers.

* CEFISEM - Training and Information Centres for the School Education of Migrants' Children

Foreign population of the five départements

	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN under 16	TOTAL
Drôme (1)	15,091	6,816	8,254	30,161
Ardèche (1)	5,053	2,908	3,524	11,485
Savoie	14,451	7,073	6,881	28,405
Haute-Savoie				53,442
Isère				37,360

In decreasing order of size, the national groups in the whole of the académie are as follows: Italian, Algerian, Portuguese, Spanish; the order varies, however, in individual départements.

Main foreign communities in order of size in the five départements

	Italian	Algerian	Portuguese	Spanish	Moroccan
Drôme	5th	1st	3rd	2nd	4th
Ardèche	4th	1st	2nd	2nd	5th
Savoie	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Haute-Savoie	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Isère					

In regard to school population, the académie of Grenoble is sixth in the country in terms of the number of foreign pupils, who account for over 12% of total primary school enrolment. In decreasing order, the numbers of children in the main nationality groups enrolled in all the schools in the académie (totalling 36,369 at the primary level) are as follows:

Algerian	Portuguese	Italian	Spanish	Moroccan	Tunisian
34.31%	20.13%	12.16%	6.60%	8.09%	5.48%
12,479	7,322	4,423	2,400	2,944	2,356

although the order varies somewhat in individual départements (see table below) and in any case differs from the order of total foreign populations in the same départements; this confirms the structural differences between national groups.

(1) Figures for 31 December 1979.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Numbers of foreign pupils, by nationality, in the five départements of the académie of Grenoble - state primary schools

Nationality / Départements	Algerian	Moroccan	Tunisian	Other African countries	Spanish	Portuguese	Yugoslav	Italian	Other Common Market countries	Turkish	Other	Total
Ardèche	736	333	98	2	168	312	12	53	56	91	95	1 956
Drôme	1,987	739	336	15	337	656	84	160	32	342	229	4 917
Isère	6,556	979	1,431	135	1,052	3,892	230	2,470	140	922	664	18,471
Savoie	1,447	265	101	5	113	927	96	764	12	99	74	3,903
Haute-Savoie	1,753	628	390	44	730	1,535	147	976	60	514	345	7,122
Total	12,479	2,944	2,356	201	2,400	7,322	569	4,423	300	1,968	1,407	36,369

Most foreign pupils now speak French, because they were born in France or have lived there and been at school long enough to use the language. But although there is no new immigration, families are still being reunited, so that a few non-French-speaking children continue to enter primary (predominantly) and secondary classes. The numbers are very small, however: 478 new entrants registered in Savoie in 1979 and the first semester of 1980, 256 are presumably non-French-speaking, and are divided as follows:

Algerian	Portuguese	Spanish	Italian	Moroccan	Tunisian	Turkish	Yugoslav
80	51	2	23	41	36	18	2

To be sure, these are not the only non-French-speaking pupils; some young children, although brought up in France, cannot speak any language except that used in their family before they begin school. Taken together, however, these pupils represent only a small fragment of the foreign school population, and an even smaller one, of course, of the total enrolment.

Nevertheless, the school authorities in the départements of the académie of Grenoble are fully aware of the existence of these children, and of their need for special attention: between 1978 and 1980 a number of classes have been instituted (or continued), at both primary and secondary levels, specifically for non-French-speaking (wholly or partly) pupils, to enable them to acquire the language competence they need in order to enter, after varying periods of time, the ordinary classes corresponding to their age and/or educational level.

Language classes and lessons at beginner or intermediate level for non-French-speaking children

	CLIN (1)	CRI (1)	CLAD (1)
Isère	6 (75 pupils)	25 (65 schools)	6
Drôme	3	8	5 (14 staff involved)
Ardèche	6 (70 pupils)	3 (9 schools - 88 pupils)	11 (113 pupils)
Savoie	4 (36 pupils)	3 (52 pupils)	(3 hrs/week special support)
Haute-Savoie	6	4	2
TOTAL	25	43	24

The question of teaching and learning French as a language of communication and education continues to arise, thus, but is no longer the principal obstacle to the integration and scholastic success of these children. The predominant feature of the situation today in schools throughout the académie, especially where there is a high concentration of immigrants, is the coexistence of several languages and cultures within one school and class; this has become quite common, almost the rule, in fact, and in this respect it affects French as well as foreign pupils, ie the whole of the French school and the agents acting in, for or around it. In the last few years the languages and cultures of origin of migrant children have been officially recognised - on paper at least - in French schools, in the form

---

(1) CLIN Introductory (primary)
CRI Integrated catching-up (primary)
CLAD Adaptation (secondary)

of classes "in languages and cultures of origin", either "integrated" into the regular timetable (as discovery activities), or "parallel", ie taught outside school hours.

These classes, set up under bilateral conventions between France and the countries of emigration (1), are taught by foreign teachers appointed and paid by their national authorities and employed, depending upon the needs, in one or more French schools. A class can be set up as soon as the consular and education authorities consider that there are enough pupils for one. Evaluating needs, ie locating the pupils concerned, is one of the biggest problems in running these classes, and the geographical dispersion of pupils of each nationality, combined with the spread of ages and academic levels of pupils of a same nationality in the same school, are often such that it is impossible to operate classes within the normal timetable; in that case, parallel classes are the only possibility. These can move and change from one year to another, since they "follow" their target group, and their setting-up demands close co-operation between the French authorities and those of the relevant countries.

An ad hoc committee has been set up in each inspectorate to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of this co-operation; in addition to the education and/or consular authorities of emigration countries, the members of these committees may be employees of the French education system who have a particular interest in such questions (département inspectors, educational counsellors, members of CEFISEMs, head teachers etc), or representatives of the social services working with the children (SSAE (2), information services etc). The specific goal of these committees is to deal with the practical aspects of classes in languages and cultures of origin, but they also provide an opportunity to explore other areas of the schooling of foreign pupils.

The members of the Grenoble CEFISEM are actively involved with these committees, from which they obtain information useful for their work and to which they bring their experience as teacher trainers, an invaluable aid to the organisation and educational aspects of the classes. The numbers of these classes are rising, and they are increasingly being held during normal class hours: most of those in the Grenoble académie (which has a large number of them) are "integrated".

---

(1) Italy, Spain, Portugal, Tunisia, Morocco, Yugoslavia, Turkey.

(2) Service social d'Aide aux Emigrants.

Classes in languages and cultures of origin offered in state primary schools

Class / Languages taught	INTEGRATED		PARALLEL	
	No. of classes	No. of pupils	No. of classes	No. of pupils
Arabic	41	382	25	356
Spanish	3	16	25	337
Italian	96	1,381	32	393
Portuguese	25	371	44	660
Turkish	4	45	14	383
Yugoslav	-	-	11	184
TOTAL	169	2,195	151	2,313

In this context, the role of the Grenoble CEFISEM (as of all others) is to provide teachers and other educational staff with the information and training they require to handle the problems they meet, and to encourage contacts and exchanges between everyone involved.

Since the setting-up, under bilateral conventions with emigration countries, of primary school classes in the languages and cultures of origin for migrant children, the CEFISEMs have extended their activities to include these classes and their teachers (≃ 1,000 foreign teachers in 1979-80). For example, about 300 foreign teachers attend one-week CEFISEM courses each year, the primary objective of which is to familiarise them with the French schools in which they will be working. An increasing number of training sessions are being held, for foreign and French teachers together, to enable them to compare their experience, consider and co-ordinate their work as teachers.

Objectives and target-group

The general objectives adopted for this course by the Grenoble CEFISEM may be expressed as follows:

. to improve classes in languages of origin in the Grenoble académie in regard to:

  . the integration of foreign teachers into school teaching teams;

  . the organisation of schools;

. to promote intercultural activities in participants' schools.

The teachers for whom the session was designed were to meet the following conditions:

- they should be teachers of languages of origin working in the académie (a composite group, with two or three teachers representing each language taught); or

- they should be French primary schoolteachers whose classes contained foreign pupils, and they should work in the same schools as the foreign teachers.

Places for two or three teachers for each nationality were offered to the educational and consular authorities of all languages and cultures concerned. Owing to problems of organisation and co-ordination, however, there were no representatives of the "small" communities (Turkish and Yugoslav) or of Morocco and Algeria. In addition, the Spanish teachers came from neighbouring académies and not the académie of Grenoble. In all, 11 foreign teachers attended the full session: two Italian, two Portuguese, four Tunisian (1), three Spanish. All were qualified in their home countries and had between seven and 34 years' experience, one to 30 years abroad, and one to seven years in France (see table below). Their training and experience differed widely, as regards their work in other foreign countries and in France, but all were committed teachers with a visible desire to co-operate.

Nationality	Experience (academic years)			Specific training		Classes taught in France	
	Total	Abroad	in France	by or in country of origin	in France	integrated	parallel
Italian F (2)	7	5	5	+	+	+	+
Italian F	14	7	7	-	+	+	+
Portuguese M (2)	17	5	5	-	-	+	+
Portuguese M	16	1	1	+	-	+	-
Tunisian F	6	3	3	+	-	+	+
Tunisian M	10	3	3	-	+	+	+
Tunisian M	7	1	1	-	+	+	+
Spanish F	10	3	3	+	-	-	+
Spanish M	34	30	4	-	-	+	-
Spanish M	21	1	1	-	-	-	+

(1) One of whom did no class teaching.

(2) M - Male
F - Female

Of the French teachers attending the course, only two met the initial requirements (1). In this case too, there were difficulties of recruitment resulting from poor circulation of information, from the requirement that applicants had to volunteer for the course, and from problems of replacement. Those who came had opted for this three-day session as part of a three-week course held by CEFISEM for primary teachers working in schools where a high percentage (30 to 50%) of the population was composed of migrant children. They were young (25 to 30 years old), and for all of them the three-week course was their first training experience centred on the education of migrants' children, and the three days on the place and role of the languages and cultures of origin in the French school were their first organised approach to the problems of intercultural education.

The disparity between the planned target-group and the people who actually came, and the dissimilarities among those attending the course, slowed the entire process to some extent (in most cases, French and foreign teachers had never met) and altered the original objectives, since the "coupling" of teachers in their working situations were rather hypothetical.

Plan of course

The different units of the course will be discussed in chronological order.

(1) Same place of work and same pupils as one of the foreign teachers attending.

GRENOBLE CEFISEM

2, 3, 4 June 1980

TEACHING NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

PROGRAMME

Monday 2 June	9 am Reception	Presentation of course - LO classes - hypothesis of inter-cultural education	Presentation of those attending	10.30 am What is culture?	Visit to an exhibition of children's drawings on their country of origin	3 pm Classes in languages and cultures of origin Plenary - Objectives Groups { working / difficulties / proposals Plenary - reports
Tuesday 3 June	9 am Plenary - continuation of reports Group - drafting of written reports	10.30 am Plenary { Development of intercultural hypothesis / Intercultural practices Individual research - types of activities	2 pm Discussion of and comments on individual proposals	3 pm Application of intercultural activities		
Wednesday 4 June	Debate - French and foreign teachers - Trade unions (SNI-SGEN) - parent-teachers' associations - Ministry - Académie Inspectorate (Mr Delaunay) - Inspectorate-General (Mr Halff) - Consulates - Associations (ADATE)		Presentation of teaching resources designed by foreign teachers at the Grenoble CEFISEM - Discussion	4 pm Evaluation		

1. After a rapid presentation of the CEFISEM premises and staff (1), one of whom conducted this part of the course, the time was devoted mainly to an outline of the programme: a brief explanation of the reasons for preserving the languages and cultures of origin, and the special form of this session in relation to those objectives. It was not thought necessary at this point to spend much time on the classes given by foreign teachers in view of the extent that those attending the course were informed about them; on the other hand, it did seem essential to speak of the foundations and components of the intercultural hypothesis with special reference to the concerns that had until recently been central in educational approaches to work with migrant children: the problems of integration-assimilation and the problems of preparation for return to the country of origin. Based very explicitly on the work of the Council of Europe, the reports of the Donaueschingen Seminar (2) in September 1979, and in particular, the report by Louis Porcher, the object of the presentation was to show, by comparison with the problems referred to above, that the intercultural hypothesis was situated elsewhere and viewed contact between cultures as enriching to both sides and as a means of promoting the social and educational integration of communities which had previously remained marginal in relation to the school or been excluded by it. In addition to the areas affected in different respects and to varying degrees by this new approach (family, school, institutions etc), the means of action required to implement it were also mentioned: teacher training, organisation of school life and production of resources, which referred directly to the course, as they would be dealt with later.

---

(1) MM Alain Musy, Jo Martinez and Nino Cicassone.

(2) Report on the 2nd Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on the Education of Migrant Children: intercultural pedagogy in the field, Donaueschingen, 24-28 November 1979; DECS/EGT (79) 37.

way of being living lifestyle behaviour ways of thinking knowing how to defend oneself knowing how to prepare oneself one's experience gestures { one's own / those of others	the past national family individual history origins individual	knowledge of languages cultural knowledge arts contemporary history war revolution literature painting music popular culture comic strips television radio mass media	rites customs mores beliefs traditions habits	religion	geography rural urban
	society country people social group social level	technology sciences	ideology politics	institutions moral values material values spiritual values aspect of ideas intolerance	climate economy progress
voluntary learning reading socio-cultural activities	involuntary learning instruction school preparation for life	cultural change non-hierarchisation age differentiation	adaptation integration opposition	present future	
relations between the sexes	ethnic groups identity independence difference		meetings exchanges living better dialogues	future	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OBJECTIVES

1. Integration into the family circle by giving the child the means to communicate and gain confidence in himself through a better knowledge of the culture and language of origin.

2. Satisfaction of the child's needs and special problems, which are often linked to his social environment and status as an immigrant.

3. Enabling the child to find roots and recognise his own value on the basis of his family experience, leading to development and harmonious fulfilment.

4. Facilitation of the child's integration at school through mastery of the language of origin, a prerequisite of learning the language of the host country.

5. Broadening of knowledge and enrichment of personality through discovery activities in co-ordination with French teachers.

6. Preparation of child for possible return to country of origin, to enable him to continue his schooling there and obtain equivalence of studies with the system in his country; this with a view to equality of opportunity.

CLASSES IN THE LANGUAGES OF ORIGIN: HOW THEY WORK AND DO NOT WORK

A. How they work: different forms of action

1. Integrated classes: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, 2 to 5 pm. Children leave their normal class and meet in a separate place with the teacher of their language of origin. Each child is entitled to three hours of instruction in his language of origin, in two sessions.

2. Parallel classes: held one hour every day, after school.

   Wednesday: eight hours of classes or language stimulation for different groups.

   Language stimulation: diversified activities for the pupils in integrated classes and others unable to attend them.

   Buses provided to collect children.

   Saturday: morning - integrated classes
   afternoon - parallel classes

3. Extra French: 5 to 6 pm

   - for children in integrated classes

   - for children not otherwise studying their language of origin

B. How they do not work:

   - refusals to set up foreign language classes, emanating from various levels (head teachers, teachers etc);

   - no regular premises;

   - problems of access to school equipment (audio-visual);

   - problems with service staff (concierge, cleaners etc) in regard to parallel classes at the end of the day;

   - difficulties in relationships between teachers of language of origin, French teachers and head teachers;

   - French colleagues inadequately informed of the value of classes in languages of origin, hence the difficulty experienced by foreign teachers in feeling themselves accepted as teachers;

   - difficulties in harmonising classes in languages of origin with other discovery activities: foreign children must not feel penalised.

PROPOSALS

- Teachers of languages of origin should attend school council meetings.

- French teachers should explain the usefulness of classes in languages of origin to parents and teachers.

- French children should be able to take part in cultural stimulation activities organised in school by teachers of languages of origin.

- Attainments in languages of origin classes should count in final assessment of pupils' work and should also be mentioned in term reports.

- Classes in languages of origin should have a specially equipped classroom within the school itself (possibly shared by teachers of languages of origin, depending on timetable).

- These classes should have use of school equipment.

- It should be possible to timetable integrated classes in the morning.

- In so far as possible (space), classes should be held at the same time; education being a whole, children should not miss non-academic parts of the normal curriculum.

- A teacher-training post should be created in the CEFISEM, to be filled by a language of origin teacher.

2. Three types of activity or forms of expression were selected: song, play-acting and drawing. Each of the three groups, containing representatives of the different cultures present, took one form and used it to interpret the theme of emigration-immigration. Some made songs in the different languages, others rehearsed and acted a passage entitled "l'Arabe" from Cavanna's book Les Ritals, while others worked alone, seeking to express in form, colour and movement what migration could mean to the people experiencing it.

3. The objective of this meeting was to bring all the people concerned at the various levels (see types of people invited and present) to exchange information, views and proposals. A senior official in the schools administration (the inspector for the département of Isère) chaired the meeting actively. The CEFISEM began by explaining the objectives and chief points of discussion and action at the course; this was followed by an initial discussion in a plenary sitting, to which the Inspector General for Arabic made an important contribution by demonstrating the role that foreign languages and cultures could play in the education of all children. Then the meeting split into small groups so that everyone would have a chance to speak and discussion would be more fruitful.

4. The teaching resources presented by the CEFISEM were multi-media packages designed to present, for the countries of origin of the main migrant communities, material that could communicate to any school population the most characteristic features of their societies; they can be used in different ways, depending upon the previous level of knowledge, age and cultural makeup of the pupils.

5. The course evaluation - a practice which is quite common, or in any event one to which the Grenoble CEFISEM staff attaches much importance - took place in two stages: individual assessment and group evaluation, both based on a flexible format devised by the CEFISEM, to be used as a guide by those attending the course and also to provide the lectures with comparable data for their final summing-up.

INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Component fields of cultures	Fields of teaching activity	Materials	Methods to be used by/for pupils	Methods to be used by teachers	Contributors	Types of intercultural activities
geography (human and physical) history politics economy and economic interdependence industrialisation resources, trade lifestyles customs, holidays family arts and traditions craft folklore media children's environment	discovery, predominantly: historical geographical scientific (human and social sc) environmental studies discovery, predominantly: artistic and aesthetic written and spoken expression other forms of expression (non verbal)	multilingual press TV records and cassettes photos and slides comic strips anthologies of poems, texts, tales class, school, multilingual library multilingual source documents	work in workshops by enquiries correspondence documents research drawings rhymes etc	<u>information</u> of materials differential studies (socio-cultural interests by age, sex, family environment) <u>application</u> co-operation between French and foreign teachers exchange of resources decompartmentalisation <u>methodology</u> comparative studies pluridisciplinary approach	foreign and French teachers parents of foreign and French pupils foreign and French artists foreign and French pupils	production of tales production of rhymes etc drawing dance production of comic strips trips participation in mixed events

PROBLEMS ARISING DURING THE COURSE

The problems arising during the course had two main sources: the nature of the target-group and the brevity of the course.

The problem of recruitment has already been mentioned, but it is worth referring to it again here because of its consequences: the teachers attending did not have the same level of background information or degree of motivation and their expectations were not very clear; the sense of the personal relevance of the course was not always strong, and the organisational and educational proposals put forward were potentially rather than immediately usable because the foreign and French teachers did not work in the same schools. In addition, the foreign teachers proved far more aware and concerned than the French teachers, and the meeting produced more leadership on their part than equality of exchanges and contributions from both sides. Under the circumstances this was logical enough, and a great help to the recognition and integration of foreign teachers by French schools, but it was also somewhat regrettable from the viewpoint of the assumption of responsibility for the problems of intercultural education by French schools. The small number of French teachers attending, moreover - seven out of 18 - was felt by participants themselves to be a weakness in the course, as was the presence at the debate of fewer head teachers, educational counsellors and département inspectors than had been hoped for.

The problem of the brevity of the course should be seen in relation to its objectives, content and programme. Thinking and trying to act in a context of intercultural education was something new for these people, and the movement may have been too rapid for some of them, especially when one considers that it really ended with the second day, the third being devoted to questions of strategy and information.

In these conditions, the teachers did not have enough time to transform the concept of intercultural education into something fully integrated in all dimensions and educationally operative, or to consider in greater depth its theoretical aspects and implications for the planning of an educational programme or for daily teaching. The practical applications proposed and carried out by the teachers tended to indicate that the idea of intercultural education could be readily related to the more (re)creative and artistic aspects and to discovery activities, but had not managed to go any farther, that is, to take root in other areas of school work, eg learning to read and reading or predominantly geographical or historic discovery activities. This association, potentially assimilation, of intercultural activities with recreational activities raises problems. Without denying the educational importance of such activities as play-acting, singing or drawing, it must nevertheless be recognised that confining intercultural education to them may imply an old-fashioned view of culture in general and a "picturesque" attitude towards foreign cultures, with the attendant risks of marginalisation. Evidence of this relatively restricted view of culture appears in the table of connotations (page 96) and in the persistence of certain significant absences, despite occasional suggestions thrown out by the CEFISEM staff. It has been established that the school does substantiate and add weight to the socio-cultural material it conveys and on which it operates, but only when references infiltrate into all activities, the fundamental as well as those intended for relaxation or artistic expression.

It would appear from the actual events that the absence of sociologists specialising in questions of migration and cultures of origin created no real problem, as the necessary information was supplied, adequately if summarily, by the members of the CEFISEM. Whatever weaknesses the course had were not at this level but rather at that of the conceptualisation of culture-school relationships and their implications for method and teaching, and the organisers cannot be held in any way responsible for this, as a variety of circumstances were involved. More to be regretted, no doubt, was the absence of organisers and instructors from the countries of origin represented in the region.

In all, "although not fully satisfactory, such a course provides an opportunity to think effectively about teaching languages of origin and about intercultural education"; this was the overall opinion of those attending the course and of the CEFISEM staff in particular, who also thought it would "provide good experience for later courses".

"An experiment in co-operation between teachers from the host country and countries of origin and setting up an intercultural library in a Geneva primary school" (Switzerland)

Case study

by

Paquita Cuesta de Gorgerat
Lina Mazza
Sylviane Quakernack-Magnin
Marie Schubauer Leoni

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

At the end of our first school year under the intercultural banner, it strikes us as important to take stock together and present an initial assessment which will convey the feelings and reactions of the two, three indeed, cultural poles involved. Hence the joint signature of this report (two Swiss, one Italian, one Spaniard).

This does not strike us as a mere formality; on the contrary, we are convinced that asking - almost as a matter of course - a national of the immigration country to write up so-called intercultural experiments (on the pretext of greater fluency in the language of the host country) is in itself an example of the receiving community wielding its superior power. Joint responsibility for this document has made us aware of the problem, but is not, we are convinced, enough in itself to redress the balance of strength and power between the local and immigrant communities concerned in any intercultural project.

Our intercultural contact project will therefore reflect the more basic contradictions running through our societies, and as participants in an experiment we cannot wilfully ignore the socio-political choices which have a general effect on contact between our countries and on the political and educational shape of our school systems.

I. OBJECTIVES

With the long-term educational aim of devising ways and means of breaking down cultural barriers between children of different nationalities, for their mutual benefit and with total respect for differences (1), we undertook a pilot experiment in the field, to obtain reliable pointers to the problems involved and to an intercultural project's prospects of success. Our project takes in two types of contact, which are in fact closely linked and mutually determinant: intercultural contact and co-operation between teachers from host country and countries of origin; intercultural relations between seven and eight year olds in the setting of a local school class.

The aims can be expressed as follows:

Teachers

To explore modes of contact between local (Swiss) teachers and teachers from immigrants' countries of origin (Italy and Spain) such as to promote:

a. better knowledge of each other's culture,

b. intercultural co-operation between teachers.

---

(1) Other Council of Europe documents contain a wealth of teaching recommendations (see in particular "The education of the children of migrant workers in Europe: interculturalism and teacher training", L Porcher (1979), and "Education of migrant children: intercultural pedagogy in the field", L Porcher (1979)).

Pupils

a. To take account of the socio-cultural identity of migrant pupils in the selected community, in the light of information supplied by the family (background, links maintained with the country of origin, plans and aspirations etc) and by the child, as a performer in various contexts (Swiss school, mother-tongue and culture-of-origin lessons); in particular, to study use of the mother tongue in communicative situations: where, when and with whom do seven-eight year olds in our community use their mother tongue? Are there adult attitudes which favour (or hinder) this use of language? How can it be catered for in Geneva classrooms, where the mother tongue usually has no place? How do the French-speaking pupils react?

b. To develop intercultural co-operation between local and migrant children: bearing in mind observations made for the purpose of (a) above, are declarations and recommendations sufficient in themselves to bring about intercultural co-operation between pupils? What is the role of the teacher in the receiving country? And of teachers from the countries of origin?

II. IMPLEMENTATION AND TARGET GROUPS

With 128 nationalities represented and foreign children accounting for 36% of the school population (infant, primary and secondary levels) (1), local authority schools in Geneva are in fact multicultural. The values migrants' cultures stand for are, however, far from enjoying effective recognition and esteem, or central rather than incidental to school life.

The project presented here is one of a network of ventures (2) instigated by the Reception and Education of Migrant Children Branch of the Public Education Department (DIP) for the purpose of promoting information and training provision for teachers, educational experiment, research and, above all, intercultural co-operation. The intention is to establish centres where ideas can be exchanged and discussed, unhampered by artificial barriers, so that those ideas can spread - and to stimulate awareness of the problems involved in co-educating children from different cultural backgrounds and encourage implementation of solutions by the authorities concerned within the framework of day-to-day education, initial teacher training and educational research at university level, and with the co-operation of representatives of migrant children's countries of origin.

The first phase of the project (1978-79) was designed by an inter-disciplinary, multicultural team (research workers from the Geneva Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences (FAPSE), linguists from the Neuchâtel Centre for Applied Linguistics, primary school teachers and teachers in charge of Italian and Spanish language and culture classes in Geneva).

---

(1) Figures for 31 December 1979 (information supplied by the Sociological Research Service of the Geneva DIP).

(2) See Appendix I.

An intercultural library was to be created in an infant/primary school in a Geneva municipality with a large migrant population (67% foreign children).

With the existence of this focal contact point and the availability of Swiss primary school teachers and the two Italian and Spanish teachers in charge of consulate language and culture courses (1), the school seemed to lend itself to an action research project. To obtain a well-defined target group, we decided, in the initial stage (1979-80) at least, to concentrate on pupils in year two of primary school (age 7-8). This is also the first stage at which Italian and Spanish children are given the chance to take mother-tongue and culture-of-origin lessons.

The second year primary class selected comprises 24 pupils who divide up according to nationality as follows:

- Italian: eight
- Spanish: four
- Swiss: seven
- other countries: five

Of these, four Italian and four Spanish children are enrolled in consulate language and culture classes. This means that all the Spanish children in the class also attend mother-tongue classes, as against only four out of the eight Italian children. The reason for this is that the Spanish parents asked the Vernier municipal authorities to provide a room for the Spanish classes in the school itself so that the children would not have to leave the premises. The room was made available provided enough children attended the classes.

Before going on to describe the various procedures and activities featured in the intercultural project, we shall present a brief account of the Swiss school concerned and the mother-tongue and culture-of-origin classes run by the Italian and Spanish consulates in Geneva.

2.1 Châtelaine School

a. Statistics and present educational arrangements

Châtelaine is a nine-year school (first-year infants (age 4-5) to sixth year primary (age 11-12)) in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of foreign children (63.2%) of 13 different nationalities. The pupils divide up as follows (see note 2):

---

(1) For the sake of convenience, we shall refer to "consulate classes", although the Spanish classes actually come under the education attaché at the Spanish Embassy in Berne.

Statistics at 31 December 1979

	Total	193	= 100%
Origin	Swiss	71	36.8%
	Italian	50	25.9%
	Spanish	46	23.8%
	Other	26	13.5%
Social class	Lower	120	62.2%
	Middle	63	32.6%
	Upper	5	2.6%
	Unknown	5	2.6%

Social class origin	Lower	120	= 100%
	- Swiss	31	25.8%
	- Italian	40	33.3%
	- Spanish	43	35.8%
	- Other	6	5.0%
	Middle	63	= 100%
	- Swiss	33	52.4%
	- Italian	10	15.9%
	- Spanish	3	4.8%
	- Other	17	27.0%
	Upper	5	= 100%
	- Swiss	2	40.0%
	- Italian	-	-
	- Spanish	-	-
	- Other	3	60.0%
	Unknown	5	= 100%
	- Swiss	5	100%
	- Italian	-	-
	- Spanish	-	-
	- Other	-	-

SRS/SPS/BL/jl - 26.09.80

Cursory analysis of these figures reveals that Italian and Spanish children account for 50% of the school population and that pupils tend to come from disadvantaged backgrounds.

It should also be pointed out that Châtelaine is staffed by one of 23 educational teams set up in Geneva in the last three years.

Teams mostly operate with one auxiliary teacher, ie a non-class-teacher who works with his/her colleagues (taking charge of a group of pupils, a particular activity etc). The setting-up of educational teams was pressed for by Geneva teachers in favour of a reallocation of educational functions involving parent-child-teacher co-operation, so that parents take part in classroom life, pupils are happier and teachers practise what they preach: teamwork, a spirit of enquiry and co-operation.

For the past three years the Châtelaine team has adopted this life-orientated, child-centred educational approach involving genuine child, parent and teacher co-participation in classroom and school life, with the aim of developing in each child a sense of responsibility and democracy and giving each the best possible preparation for working life. The hope is that this approach will equalise training opportunities, thereby democratising school.

It was thanks to this close co-operation between teachers at the school, the desire to take more effective account of cultural differences between their pupils and the Spanish parents' request to the municipal authorities for a Spanish teacher at Châtelaine who was willing to collaborate with the Swiss teachers that our intercultural team was able to make a start during the 1979-80 school year.

We began by bringing the Swiss teachers of second year primary pupils on the one hand and the Italian and Spanish teachers on the other (cf 3.3. Arrangements for intercultural team meetings) into regular contact with one another.

b. Setting up the intercultural library

At the same time, an intercultural library was created thanks to support from Vernier townhall, the Directorate of Primary Education, the Italian Consulate General, the Spanish Embassy and teachers at Châtelaine, whose contributions helped pay for furniture, educational materials and books. The aim of the library is to win acceptance of the immigrant children's mother tongue and culture of origin by themselves and by their Swiss schoolmates.

Although schooling of migrant children in Geneva has hitherto had two objectives:

- integrating the children into state schools, in accordance with general Swiss immigration policy, and

- maintaining mother tongue and culture of origin,

thinking currently seems to be changing. It is being realised that these two objectives, because opposed, may cause severe conflicts for immigrant children.

The children cannot in fact experience genuine fulfilment if torn between the culture of origin, which they reject as an obstacle to their social integration, and the culture of the host country, which they have not yet genuinely assimilated. In effect, then, integration must involve preservation of the Italian and Spanish children's cultural identity, crucial to development of their personalities, and thereby ensure mutual enrichment of the Swiss, Italian and Spanish communities.

Setting up an intercultural library is one of a number of means to this end. As well as the usual range of books, the library stocks Italian and Spanish books and documentation in French on the foreign cultures. They are available to migrant and local children as a means of fostering mutual acceptance of their respective cultures.

The library is an important teaching instrument at the school. The children have free access to it. It is an ideal contact point for children of various ages and cultures, in continuous operation thanks to the French, auxiliary, Spanish and Italian teachers and a few parents, and this has made it a genuine focal point of school life. Children can go to the library and ask an interested, available adult to read, give explanations or help find books, using the various languages to communicate.

For the teachers and parents, it is a worthwhile activity which enables them to take a direct interest in what their children are doing and sometimes even rediscover a taste for reading themselves.

The school needs other special areas besides the library for local and migrant children to meet in and be exposed to a specific culture.

That is what we are aiming at in the 1980-81 school year.

2.2 Mother tongue and culture of origin classes

a. Spanish language and culture classes

In Geneva the Spanish language and culture classes take place outside the normal school timetable: daily from 4.30 to 6.30 pm and on Thursdays. Each group receives four hours of instruction a week, two hours on Thursdays and the other two hours on another day after normal school hours.

The number of pupils per teacher ranges from 65 to 85, divided into four groups. The Spanish teacher at Châtelaine not only teaches the Châtelaine pupils, but pupils from neighbouring schools (Libellules, Balexert etc) as well.

The class monitored by the intercultural team consists of 14 children who come for Spanish lessons on Tuesdays from 4.30 to 6.30 pm and Thursdays from 2 to 4 pm.

Between 40% and 50% of the Spanish children attend the classes.

Difficulties:

Teaching Spanish to children tired after a school day or on Thursdays, one of their days off, is no easy matter.

Classes are extremely heterogeneous in make-up, since pupils' knowledge varies. Several stages are very often to be found in one and the same class. Shortage of materials adds to the difficulties, as does the lack of motivation of a number of children.

b. Italian language-and-culture classes

In countries with a high rate of Italian immigration Italian language and culture lessons are organised by the consulates under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (legislation of 3 March 1971).

Their purpose is to maintain knowledge of the mother tongue and consulates endeavour to obtain Italian recognition of foreign school certificates.

At primary level, lessons are partially integrated into the Swiss school timetable, ie pupils attend once a week from 1 to 5.30 pm (four hours). It is sometimes possible to improve on these arrangements, with classes starting at 1 pm, two two-hour classes (on two different days) or Thursday classes.

Italian pupils begin mother-tongue and culture-of-origin classes at the start of the second year of Swiss primary school, when they already have some command of the local language. In Geneva, primary school lasts six years, in Italy five, so that the two syllabi can be kept parallel over the same time-span.

The Italian pupils at Châtelaine were unable to have lessons on the spot and go to a nearby school, at Balexert, instead. Classes are on Wednesdays and cater for pupils from various schools in the area.

III. PROCEDURE

For the project, the intercultural team took on various different, but complementary, tasks. The first phase involved gathering information on how migrant parents and participating teachers were placed vis-à-vis the dual acculturation process (culture of origin and local culture).

3.1 Structured interviews with the parents of Italian and Spanish pupils in the selected class

This first phase took place in May-June 1979, ie before the start of the intercultural experiment proper, by which time parents of the pupils in our sample had nevertheless had to decide whether to send their children to consulate classes from the start of the school year in September.

We asked each family for an interview "to discuss your children's school and language problems". In twos (1) (a French speaker and an Italian or Spanish speaker), we then visited the families who had agreed to be interviewed.

---

(1) We felt that it would be useful to have information about the parents' (both mother and father were present) command of the mother tongue and French. We introduced ourselves as follows: "I am an Italian (Spanish) primary teacher. My colleague understands Italian (Spanish) but does not speak it". This approach enabled us to conduct discussion naturally in both languages.

Questions and discussion focused on the following three headings:

a. The children, school, mother tongue and local language

Here we were concerned with the children's education, relations with their Swiss school, any difficulties encountered, particularly by the children in the target class.

We also wanted to find out which language the child used to communicate with parents, brothers and sisters and neighbourhood friends. Had the pattern changed at any point? Who had looked after him/her in early childhood and who looked after him/her now (meals, after school etc)? How were the various members of the family placed vis-à-vis mother tongue and local language?

b. Occupational situation and life in Geneva

Discussion here focused on both parents' training and occupations, the effects of the economic crisis on their lives (unemployment, housing etc), type of contact with the Swiss community and other migrant families, leisure activities of the various members of the family, food preferences etc.

c. Country of origin, emigration, future plans

We were interested in how the parents, after several years away from their native country, viewed their present living standards and their lives prior to departure. We tried to discover their reasons for emigrating. Had they come straight to Switzerland and Geneva? When? What was their experience of return visits on holiday? What did these visits mean to them? What were their long-term plans for themselves and their children?

We established the following:

The children in the class we are interested in were all born in Geneva. They had all at one time or another spoken French with brothers and sisters or neighbourhood friends before starting school (at age four). With their parents, they used the mother tongue, which was often a dialect, but parents complained that their children increasingly answered them in French. Most of the pupils took school meals and attended day-care classes.

As regards parents' occupational situation and life in Geneva, the recession had affected them directly. They had been out of work or on short-time, which had seriously jeopardised their financial and household plans.

As far as country of origin, emigration and future plans are concerned, we discovered that most parents had had to leave home because of unemployment; they had found work in Geneva, but seldom in their own line of employment. All intended remaining in Geneva for the sake of their school-age children and wanted them to stay on and receive a good education.

3.2 Questionnaire for participating teachers
(Two Swiss, one Italian, one Spanish)

Before the intercultural meetings even started, the teachers were asked to fill in a questionnaire on cultural identity and learning French (1) as an aid to group thinking in these areas. The questionnaire was intended to find out teachers' initial feelings about the impending experiment.

The Italian and Spanish teachers stressed the difficulties the children faced as migrants. The Geneva teachers, on the other hand, were struck by the pupils' drive. Both sets of comments were qualified in the course of the year.

As far as language is concerned, the Italian teacher started off teaching in French and introduced Italian gradually. This was because the children's command of their mother tongue varied greatly.

These various comments were dealt with in discussion sessions, which brought to light sociological, educational and language problems.

The team also suggested asking other local and migrant teachers in Canton Geneva to complete the questionnaire so as to sensitise them to the issues and see how non-participant teachers viewed the problem of dual cultural identity and teaching French and mother tongue to migrant children.

This entailed administrative formalities (permission from the Directorate of Primary Education) which took much longer than anticipated. Not until early June were we able to send the questionnaires to a dozen teachers. To date, not all the replies have come in.

We hope to widen our enquiry by sending the same questionnaire to teachers in Canton Neuchâtel, where the local university is taking an interest in the problem.

3.3 Arrangements for intercultural team meetings

From October 1979, the following people formed what we agreed to call an "intercultural team":

- the class teacher of the Swiss second-year primary class;
- the auxiliary teacher at the Swiss school (cf Part 2.1);
- the teacher in charge of the Italian Consulate's Italian language and culture classes;
- the teacher in charge of the Spanish Consulate's Spanish language and culture classes;

---

(1) The Italian and Spanish teachers were given a parallel questionnaire in their mother tongue on cultural identity and assimilation of the mother tongue and French.

- the organiser in charge of the intercultural library at Châtelaine School;

- four assistants not involved with the pupils in a teaching capacity, but who had helped design the intercultural project from the start of research (1).

It was agreed that the team would meet approximately once a month, generally in the evening (8 pm) (2).

Because of the novelty and special nature of the proposed contact (creating a multicultural team calls for a new approach of its own, so that, for example, it was impossible simply to borrow techniques usual with Swiss teachers), the group operated in a relatively unstructured way and not always to a hard-and-fast agenda (this had the advantage of allowing each participant to orientate discussion and subsequent meetings in accordance with his personal expectations and view of intercultural relations).

Programme suggestions were put forward, not always in the form of specific, binding action proposals. The four local and migrant teachers did, however, agree to keep a record covering:

- school activities;

- attitude and reaction of migrant pupils in the selected class;

- an "assessment" of their school work etc.

Content was flexible. Each teacher decided what was relevant: discussion might focus on group/class activities or on individual migrant children, who would then be discussed in the context of class activities.

The teacher herself decided the pattern of assessment in relation to what the team wanted to find out.

It was this day-to-day observation which fuelled discussion between the members of the intercultural team and yielded information on the various teachers' perception of individual migrant children, relations among children and teaching methods employed.

No recommendations as to methods have so far emerged from discussions, but several problems connected with teaching methods and syllabus content have been tackled.

At the end of the year, a written project on Sicily was carried out by Italian pupils in the class as part of active collaboration between the teacher running the intercultural library and the Italian teacher.

---

(1) See Appendix II.

(2) We feel that it is important to specify the kind of timetable meetings operated to: since everyone had professional commitments and alternative arrangements were difficult, the team members made the effort to meet outside working hours.

It was not long before exchange classroom visits (to the Swiss and language and culture classes) were felt to be necessary and by the end of the school year there had been visits to the Swiss class and the intercultural library.

IV. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Problems ...

The first year of the experiment proceeded in fits and starts: funding to furnish and equip the intercultural library had to be applied for repeatedly; slow-moving administrative machinery did not help the emergent team.

Organising a purposely intercultural group composed of equals is still difficult and takes us back to the problems alluded to in the introduction.

The knack of dealing with certain conflicts for the sake of a project involving genuine contact had to be learnt. Seemingly, there has to be an initial sizing-up phase, while everyone waits for everyone else to make the first move, especially in an intercultural context, where meetings are not on neutral ground; objectively, the very fact of meeting on Swiss soil and holding discussions in French tended to tilt the balance towards the locals.

Local teachers, however well intentioned, have a number of stereotyped attitudes, which affect their intercultural outlook and of which they become aware only with time and regular contact with the other cultures.

Migrant teachers, on the other hand, face the specific problem of establishing a socio-cultural identity and fighting daily to win recognition for their profession and role in a society which, hitherto, at least, has evinced tolerance at most.

... and pluses

Teachers:

The team of teachers directly concerned was unanimously in favour of continuing the experiment in the 1980-81 school year and extending it to include the third-year primary class. After a year of tentativeness, initial evaluation pointed to a need for a more structured approach and more specific tasks.

The teachers suggested, for instance, looking at the problem of interference between the two languages (mother tongue and local language) and stepping up collaboration on specific educational tasks.

The Swiss teachers seemed, too, increasingly aware of certain cultural stereotypes: eg bull-fighting does not necessarily appeal throughout Spain or to all Spaniards; it is therefore pointless, harmful even, to insist on Spanish pupils' talking, drawing, and writing about it.

Pupils

According to the teachers (local and immigrant), immigrant pupils in the second-year primary class are more prepared to use the mother tongue in their Swiss school; they talk about their nationality of their own accord; "they are more relaxed", as their teachers put it; they have a sense of their own worth and their young Swiss classmates are interested in their language, in their different experiences. In this climate, for example, a little Spanish girl, normally very withdrawn and apparently extremely shy, does not mind improvising a Spanish dance on her own in front of the class: a lively side to her nature has surfaced for the first time.

In the library, local children have become acquainted with other cultures and immigrant children have used their mother tongue with parents and with the Italian and Spanish teachers, rediscovering the wealth of their own culture.

Parents have expressed a desire to come back to the library and organise activities around story-reading and songs in Italian, Spanish, French and other languages.

Institutionally, the experiment has shown the authorities concerned, at all levels (embassies and consulates, the Department of Public Education, school management, co-ordinators and inspectors), to be willing to join in the search for solutions to the intercultural education problem.

As regards both research and teacher training, the experiment gives expression to a need jointly voiced by Swiss, Italian and Spanish teachers, one which is beginning to meet with a response, notably on the part of the Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences.

Lastly, for all those involved in the informal network of intercultural ventures instigated by the DIP's Reception and Education of Migrants Department. it is a landmark, a stimulus. There are prospects of several follow-up ventures:

- in other schools, intercultural teams of Spanish, Italian and Swiss teachers are coming together to find satisfactory ways of integrating Spanish and Italian language and culture classes - a development about which there are many reservations in Switzerland;

- other intercultural libraries are being set up. The first consisted of books donated by teachers and parents. But more general provision of multicultural documents through class and school libraries and documentation centres is being looked at in primary and pre-secondary education.

APPENDIX I

Some literature

A Grettler, R Gurny, A -N Perrot-Clermont, E Paglia (eds), Approches des problèmes linguistiques des enfants migrants. Coll. Exploration, SSRE, Peter Lang S A, Berne (in press).

Les enfants d'immigrés au Cycle d'orientation. Le respect des cultures, in C O Parents No. 84, August-September 1980, Département de l'instruction publique, Direction générale du Cycle d'orientation, Geneva.

M Rey-von Allman (ed), La scolarisation des enfants migrants: l'école et la coéducation d'enfants de différentes cultures, Bulletin du GRETI, Technique d'instruction, special issue, 1978.

M Rey-von Allman, L'éducation des enfants (de) migrants dans le canton de Genève - Vers une éducation interculturelle, in Annuaire de l'Instruction publique, Etudes pédagogiques, 1979, Payot, Lausanne.

APPENDIX II

Participants

- Catherine Cuénod, auxiliary teacher
- Paquita Cuesta de Gorgerat, Spanish teachers' representative
- Lina Mazza, Italian teachers' representative
- Sylviane Quakernack-Magnin, teacher and intercultural library organiser
- Micheline Rey, Reception and Education of Migrant Children, DIP
- Christine Rod, teacher in charge of second-year primary
- Mercedes Rodriguez, Spanish teacher
- Ada Scarpetta, Italian teacher
- Marie Schubauer Leoni, Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences.

Case study

on

"Projekt Thuisland"
(Netherlands)

by

B J L Papendorp

J M F Teunissen

The educational landscape of the Netherlands has changed considerably with the arrival of the many foreign children now living in the country. An increasing number of schools are having to deal with pupils belonging to cultural minorities, and even where this is not the case, Dutch children must be prepared for the multicultural society which they will be entering on leaving school.

A growing willingness is being manifested by the schools to handle aspects other than those covering only the problem of language, but up to now they have had few practical means of reacting to the multicultural school situation since teaching aids and curricula are not geared to it.

"Projekt Thuisland" (Homelands Project) is an attempt to meet this need. A variety of teaching aids have been developed with the homelands of two groups of migrant workers - Turkey and Morocco - in mind. Primary schools can use this material to create situations in which the first steps on the road to multicultural education can be taken. This study gives some information about the material and the background against which it was developed.

General Aspects

The "Projekt Thuisland" material consists of a book for pupils and a file containing a number of different activities the teachers can present. A wide range of stories for different levels of development constitute the main "ingredients" and where possible, they have been printed in two languages. The book intended for the pupils is, in any case, bilingual and the stories in the file can be reproduced by the school as required. In addition to the stories, a large number of other activities is provided in the file such as songs, games, a play, simple handicrafts, jokes and riddles.

The idea is that teachers use this material to work out projects or programme series of creative activities. The stories and activities were chosen in close consultation with foreign teachers, the information on the countries and cultures was verified by cultural anthropologists.

Philosophy

"Projekt Thuisland" was started in 1973-4 at a time when the policy to provide special facilities for non-Dutch-speaking pupils was beginning to be implemented. Schools which fulfilled certain requirements could apply for additional help from Dutch educational assistance and foreign teachers. Although this was a definite improvement on the existing situation, we foresaw other problems right from the start. In the first place, undue emphasis was placed on the work of the Dutch educational assistants, whose task it was to help foreign pupils with the Dutch language. Not only was

less time allotted to lessons in their own language and culture but such lessons were completely isolated from the rest of school life and were given without any consultation taking place with other teachers concerned with the foreign pupils.

The most problematic point in this set-up was the time spent by foreign children in the class. Since they were not equipped to participate fully at the level of their Dutch classmates and it took some time to overcome this handicap, they were frequently left out of class activities, many of which they could not understand.

This had two unfortunate consequences. On the one hand, they themselves learnt very little and on the other they always had the feeling of being alien and in some way "inferior". In this situation a foreign child will inevitably appear to be someone who not only knows very little but also has very little to contribute.

The essential feeling of security, of belonging, will be lacking. Apart from the fact that it is not exactly favourable for a child's development to experience school in this way, this situation is bound to have an anti-integrative effect. In this way we force the child to fall back on his own group quite often causing him to reject the group of Dutch children. Quite a number of schools have reported a certain rivalry between these migrant children and groups of Dutch children and children of other nationalities who may also attend the school.

Although most schools are currently coping more effectively with the presence of non-Dutch-speaking pupils, we believe that this analysis still holds good. Workable solutions may have been found for the didactic problems but a one-way traffic system still persists in class, the foreign child contributing virtually nothing. And, it is his contribution, this potential extra dimension, that is of prime importance.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the extension of facilities only strengthens this tendency. The more extra time schools have allotted for their foreign pupils, the more inclined they are to shift the responsibility for them onto the educational assistants and foreign teachers. Where schools have large numbers of foreign pupils, two separate educational systems develop within a single school, one for the Dutch pupils and one for the foreigners. In this way, the policy of providing additional facilities undermines its own objective, which is integration.

Extra lessons in Dutch and in the foreign pupils' own language and culture remain necessary supplementary provisions. An integration policy must start in the classroom, for it is there that the children from different groups are brought together and there that it is determined whether integration is going to work or not. "Projekt Thuisland" decided to develop aids for precisely this situation, hoping at the same time that the preparation for these class activities could be made by the foreign teachers and educational assistants.

The material - the stories, songs, etc - is derived from the country of origin. This was done deliberately so that the foreign child will be on familiar ground and thus in an advantageous position when confronting his classmates. Since he is in a position in which his own background has almost completely fallen away, "Projekt Thuisland" wishes to provide him with elements he will easily recognise. As the material creates pleasant and interesting situations, the attention of the Dutch children will be drawn to the fact that their foreign classmates have their own valuable background. It will perhaps be useful to quote from the introduction to the file at this point.

"In a way, it is neglecting an opportunity when Dutch children attending the same school as foreign children can only regard them as being different, strange or even inferior. It is getting to know another culture that can widen one's mental horizons and extend the range of one's experience. What is more, Dutch children must live together with foreign children in their street and neighbourhood."

In "Thuisland" culture is expressly taken to mean "children's culture". Culture is something you live and experience. Getting to know another culture means that for a short while you look at the codes and rituals of that culture from the inside and experience it that way. Showing Dutch children slides of the mosque at Fez will teach them little; they must learn to play Tseira, a Moroccan game, with Moroccan children, and listen together in pleasurable fear to a Moroccan fairytale. "Thuisland" is a varied collection of such items in which every child in the class can join, regardless of nationality.

Material such as that provided in "Projekt Thuisland" can also be profitably used in schools where there are as yet no foreign pupils. "Projekt Thuisland" thereby fulfils a dual function; the one is approached from the special situation of the foreign child, the other is aimed at preparing Dutch children, however modestly, for life in a multicultural society.

Material

Even if only the children of migrant workers were to be considered, it would be impossible to develop material for every nationality in a relatively short time. We have chosen here the two biggest groups which differ most, in cultural terms from the Netherlands, the Turks and the Moroccans. The availability of material forced another decision on us, namely to concentrate mainly on the lower classes of the primary school and the upper infants' grades.

It is a fact that as children grow older their needs change. Older children have a much clearer understanding of the social situation, and older foreign pupils are only too aware of all sorts of contradictions and incongruities in their lives. To react to their problems with fairy-tales and stories would be totally misplaced; a different approach is required. In this regard "Projekt Thuisland" has been unable to meet an urgent need.

As has already been mentioned, the material consists of a bilingual book for pupils and a file for teachers. The book has primarily a psychological function. We hope that the book will be introduced as a gift from the foreign pupils to their Dutch classmates. The foreign pupil will be thus, for perhaps the first time, someone who has literally something to contribute. This may also extend to the parents. Most foreign parents are extremely proud of their background but can seldom express their pride outside the family circle. If their children bring home books with stories in their own language, they will regard this as recognition. The attention of Dutch parents will be drawn to probably unsuspected positive aspects of these other cultures. Turkey in particular has a rich children's culture, with an almost inexhaustible fund of fairytales, stories, anecdotes, plays. Closer acquaintance with this cultural heritage enforces the realisation that what young children are often presented with in the Netherlands is cold and artificial by comparison.

The various activities are arranged in the teachers' file according to age, ranging from approximately five to ten years. All the activities are non-cognitive and link up with creative subjects such as music, handicrafts and games. Attention is also paid to the expressive use of language and dramatisation. This social and emotional approach has been deliberately chosen to enable all the children to meet one another at the same level.

The activities have been selected where possible from the living children's culture. The songs are still sung, the anecdotes still told, some of the stories have been written by children, the games are still played. They thus represent cross-sections of, glimpses into, the living culture of the country seen through the eyes of a child. This also enables Dutch children to share the experiences of their foreign classmates, to encounter that different yet related reality. One of our experiences when collecting riddles will illustrate what we mean.

We tried to track down typical riddles by talking to foreign and Dutch children. Dutch children quickly answered the riddle "The wind is his livelihood" - the miller. Not a single Turkish or Moroccan child could think of the answer. But only the foreign children guessed the answer to "He opens the door without using hands or feet" - the wind. Riddles often revealed this type of subtle difference in the perception of reality.

The cultural background information is a special feature of the teachers' file. A short text with information on the country of origin and the relevant activity is appended to a number of activities to enhance their meaningfulness. Taken together these notes give a clear idea of a number of important elements in the social pattern and customs of Turkey and Morocco. The information has been supplied by cultural anthropologists, Arab and Turkish scholars, so may be assumed to be reliable.

Results

As "Thuisland" material has been available for only a short time, relatively few results are known, but when these are studied, the following picture emerges.

There seems to be no doubt that the stories are appreciated by all groups of children, who find them exciting, especially as they are illustrated in class by slides. It is noteworthy that the foreign children react with complete amazement to Turkish or Arabic texts. One child said literally "But those are Turkish words" and gazed incredulously at the book. It really should put us to shame that children simply cannot believe their eyes when they see something relating to their own background in a Dutch school. However, the first feelings of surprise soon change to happy pride.

Some schools use the material to bridge the gap between infant and primary school classes. Since the non-cognitive aspect predominates, it is particularly suitable for presenting to children from both sections together.

The most positive reaction was perhaps that of a school where the project stimulated Dutch and foreign teachers to start adapting new Turkish stories for their groups together. The co-operation between teachers that thus developed is to be more highly valued from the point of view of integration achievement than the most perfect textbook.

It appeared that the project contained too little material for the 5 to 7 year olds. The stories designed for these groups turned out to be too difficult, though on the whole "Projekt Thuisland" proved usable for children between 5 and 11 years old.

It is becoming more and more clear that the use of the material requires a certain intercultural attitude. Groups of teachers who see further than the language problem use the material sooner and more often than those who do not. Within the schools, too, it is usually the teachers with an intercultural outlook who carry out the project.

It is apparently not enough merely to make the material available; at many schools it must actually be handed over by, for instance, an educational consultant. Teachers with a predilection for keeping closely to the subject matter require some guidance, since non-cognitive activities demand other didactic qualities.

"Projekt Thuisland" in perspective

The concepts multicultural and intercultural education are of prime importance in the development of theories on education for children from ethnic minority groups. Multicultural education is localised in a certain school or a certain class. It implies that attention is paid regularly in the school or class to the cultural background of the various groups.

The term intercultural has a much wider meaning. It refers to a principle which permeates all levels of education. Intercultural education is one of the instruments used to train a child to become a world citizen. The frontiers of his own country and nationality have long been crossed. People live in a world-wide society, as in a single comprehensive communication structure and in mutual dependence between countries and blocs. It is important to have this fact actively expressed in education.

Intercultural education must overtake single-culture education and must have done so anyway even without recent migration movements. The (labour force) migration has, however, accelerated thinking on intercultural education and in addition provides a number of specific opportunities for applying this educational principle in practice.

The presence of various culture groups in one society makes possible the promotion in concrete terms of mutual understanding between ethnic groups and creates conditions under which the stranger can be accepted and one's own values and standards rethought. Since the various culture groups are present in the form of real people, all this can be translated into terms of actual human relations.

The application of this educational principle has far-reaching consequences for teaching itself. Intercultural education has an effect on the didactic practice of teachers, on the curricula and textbooks and on the equipment of classrooms. It points the way to a change of mentality, not only in the schools with pupils belonging to ethnic minorities but also in those with only autochthonous children.

It will be clear that intercultural education must mean large-scale education innovation, which will only bear fruit if other sectors of society are prepared to make appropriate changes in theory and practice too. Education is faced with a task that stretches out over decades.

Discussion in the Netherlands is inclined to put multicultural and intercultural education in opposing camps, as if it were a question of choice between conflicting approaches. We do not believe this to be the case. Multicultural and intercultural education complement each other and the emphasis shifts from the one to the other as the different phases of the migration movement succeed one another. In the early stages of the migration movement, when large groups of children from widely differing cultures pour into the country in the course of a couple of decades, strong emphasis on multicultural education is inevitable. At this stage, education fulfils the important function of helping to build a bridge between the two environments in which the child finds himself. It is inevitable at this point that the home culture of the child must be the point of departure and in such a way that his own language, codes of behaviour and the progress he has made at school in his own country are not lost. In this period education must offer what may be called an open space in which the child has the opportunity to acquire the qualifications that will enable him to cope with a complete confrontation with the new culture and its institutions. Multicultural education will be necessary for longer periods in schools whose pupils are drawn largely from two or three culture groups.

The movement towards intercultural education must continue, conceived and developed by the cultural multiplicity of school and society. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the first stage of the immigration movement intercultural education is being directed mainly to the school population in the Netherlands to prepare the children for life in a culturally pluriform society.

Where does "Projekt Thuisland" stand in this scheme of things ?

"Projekt Thuisland" must be seen as a contribution to multicultural education. Aids have been devised which enable a start to be made with the presentation of the cultures of the two biggest groups in the Netherlands, which also happen to be those which differ most from Dutch culture. "Projekt Thuisland" is, however, still too much of a special subject, as if the normal routine is to be interrupted for a while for a lesson in other cultures. What would be ideal would be to mix the multicultural element into all lessons, like stirring salt into porridge.

It should be perfectly normal to have stories about the Gürdül or Messaouidi families in textbooks, that other rhythms should be heard during music lessons than the usual three-four or four-four beats.

It is, of course, impossible to include separate elements in the primary school syllabus to cater for all the present and future cultural groups who happen to be in the country. But one might hope that world-oriented education would be less concentrated on Europe and the West and more open to the rest of the world.

"Contrastive" approach

What is going to happen in the future in the field of multicultural education we cannot tell. But one thing we have learnt not to do and that is to use the "contrastive" approach. This approach constantly compares the home and foreign culture by contrasting them with each other. When this is done the children are always looking at the other culture from within their own frame of reference which only strengthens existing prejudices. We discovered in "Projekt Thuisland" that it is far better to bring children together within one situation. It is not so very important that that situation has been created using an element from another culture. The point is that the children in that situation learn something from each other, find each other interesting and are enjoying something together. Singing and dancing a Turkish song with a Turkish child does more for an open-minded approach to each other than ten lessons on the Ottoman Empire. Singing and dancing are universal human activities and it does not really matter whether the dance is Turkish or Dutch.

The teacher who believes in multicultural education and wishes to encourage integration would do well to seek the things that bring children together and not those that accentuate the differences. "Projekt Thuisland" can in any case furnish evidence that there is absolutely no dearth of such linking elements.

Some illustrations

At the end of this study we have given a number of activities from the file by way of illustration. The first activity, "My little dappled lamb", demonstrates how the proje[illegible]deals with texts. The text is printed in two languages, in this case Turkish and Dutch. It is followed by information for the teacher and suggestions on how he or she can follow up the story in class. The file also gives a certain amount of cultural background informa[illegible]ion. This is not intended for the children, only for the teacher, to give him some idea of the atmosphere and background. This is followed by an anecdote about a "hodja" or holy man, which is also taken from Turkish folk tradition.

The material for Morocco includes a game of bingo which the class can make themselves from the models in the file. After the rules and instructions there is an illustration of one of the bingo cards. We end with a very well known Moroccan children's song "The Goat".

Turkish text

ALAKUZUM

Translation

My Little Dappled Lamb

That morning I had fetched the lambs from the stable as usual. I took them to Belen Hill. All around it was green. All the lambs played and sprang about in the grass. Their pleasure made me happy too.

The sun was high in the heavens. All at once I felt like taking the little dappled lamb and stroking her. I stroked her and felt the warm curls. I took her with me to the shade. My eyes slowly closed and I fell asleep. When I woke up it was already afternoon. I looked around. Where were the lambs? I heard only the birds singing. There was no other sound. I looked about for the lambs but could not find them. I was surprised and shocked. What was I to tell my father? What if they had all been eaten by the wolf? Oh, I was so sorry ! I looked further and went to the wood. What did I see in the wood? The wolf had my dappled lamb in its jaws. It was eating her. Oh, I was so afraid! I shouted and screamed. My voice sounded through the valley. The wolf took fright, dropped his prey and ran away. But what difference did that make? My little dappled lamb was already dead. I went home. I ran to the stable crying. I looked. All the lambs were inside. Only my dappled lamb was missing. Oh, why had I taken her to the shade? Why had I taken her away from the flock? I was so sorry, and so sad. I cried and cried.

Even now, it still hurts when I think of my little dappled lamb. She was such a small, helpless, innocent creature ...

Oh, my dear little dappled lamb.

Source:

Vahit Yildirim
from Sobran village

Story : My little dappled lamb

Subject: This story was written by a Turkish boy to whom this actually happened when he was a shepherd in his native village.

We have translated the story as literally as possible to keep as closely as possible to the atmosphere of the original story.

Age : 5 years and older.

The simplicity of the language makes the story suitable as a reading exercise for children in their third class.

Cultural Background Information

One of the most important of the shepherd's tasks is to keep the flock together. He must see to it that no animal is isolated from the rest. The substance of the story relates to the risks that occur when an animal strays from the flock. The story also demonstrates how young children in the rural areas of Turkey are given responsible tasks early in life. The flock of sheep is often the family's sole source of income. A boy will often herd the sheep of a number of different families in his village, perhaps contracting to do so for a year and receiving a sum of money, usually small, and the necessities of life; this money he saves for his dowry.

A little while ago there was a protest of shepherds in a certain district in Turkey because the dowries had become so expensive that they were beyond the means of the shepherds. It is perhaps useful to point out that the summers in countries like Turkey are extremely hot. On hot summer days man and beast alike seek the shade in the afternoons. Shade is, therefore, much more important there than in a country like the Netherlands. The story mentions stables. These are folds or pens, ie. small plots of grassland surrounded by thorny shrubs, stones or dead branches. The sheep are usually kept in these pens at night. Similar pens are still to be found on the island of Texel.

Follow-up

We believe that it is of great importance to afford the children an opportunity to express their feelings about this story as soon as they have heard it, for instance in the intimacy of a class circle. One of the foreign children can perhaps relate a similar situation or experience. Let both foreign and Dutch children talk about their feelings and experiences at the death or disappearance of an animal or pet they have lost. Emphasise the similarity of their feelings. It must not be forgotten that cats and dogs are kept in Turkey rather for their usefulness than as pets.

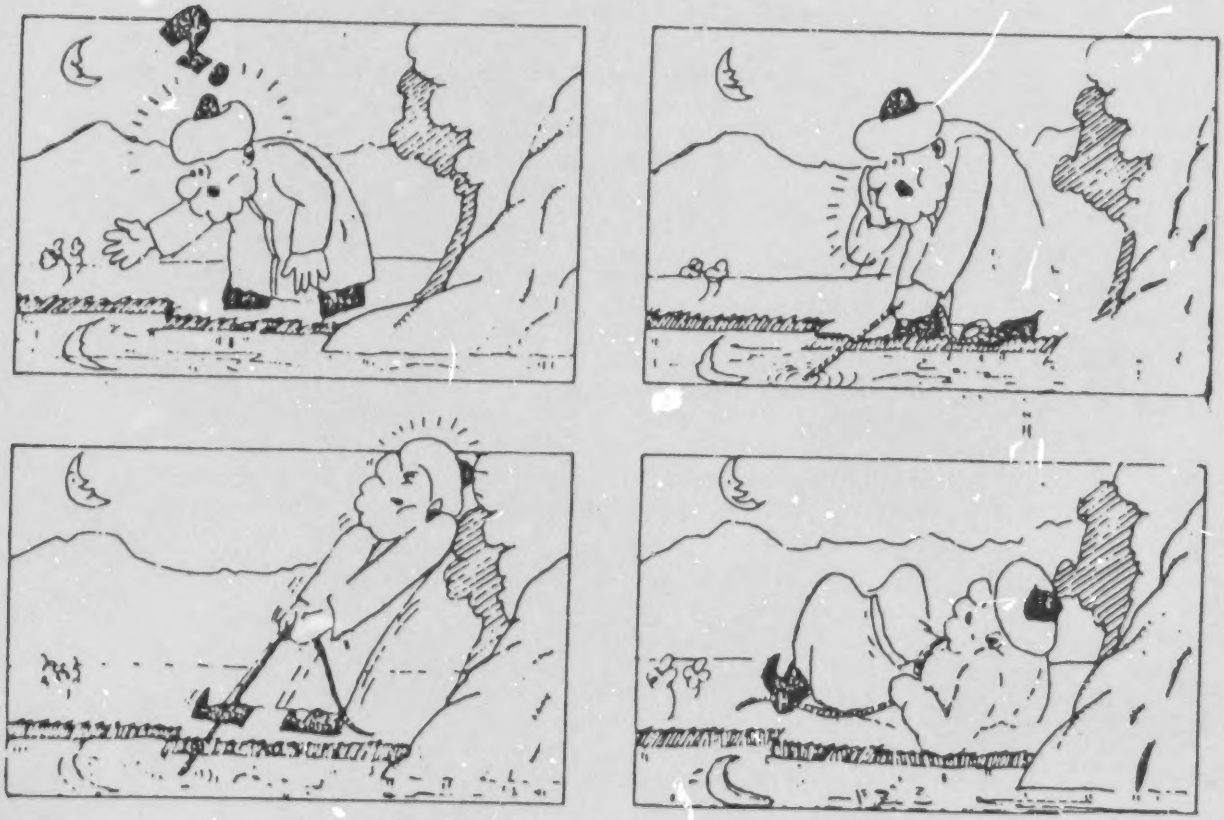
This story is particularly suitable as a subject for a pen-and-ink drawing or water-colour painting but then for slightly older children.

At one of the primary schools where the story was read aloud the children themselves suggested that they should illustrate it on large sheets of paper, working in groups of four. By using all kinds of soft material such as cottonwool, odds and ends of wool and cloth in their pictures, the children consciously or unconsciously wished to express its atmosphere.

The 5 to 7 year olds could also learn a simple Turkish shepherd's song. (This song is included in the project file but has been omitted here through lack of space).

At the Right Moment

It is night.
The Hadja is walking beside the pool and looking in the water.
He sees the moon's reflection.
"The moon's in the water," thinks the Hadja.
"I must save her."
He finds a rope and throws one end in the water.
He calls out,
"Hold on tight. I will save you."
The rope is caught on a rock in the pool.
The Hadja pulls with all his might.
The rope slips off the rock and the Hadja falls on his back.
The moon laughs in a friendly way at the Hadja.
"I'm glad I could help you," he says to the moon.
"I was just in time, wasn't I?"



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Activity : Morocco - bingo

Age : 5 - 10 years

Material : Cards with pictures of Moroccan objects. They all have some connection with food or eating.

There are also sheets on which these objects are printed in no particular order.

Method

The relevant pages from the file are reproduced so that each child has the requisite number. The sheets with the big drawings are the cards. They are cut out, coloured and pasted on pieces of cardboard so that there is a pile of cards. The pages with the small drawings are cut in half and also pasted onto cardboard; they are the bingo boards.

The rules are as follows :

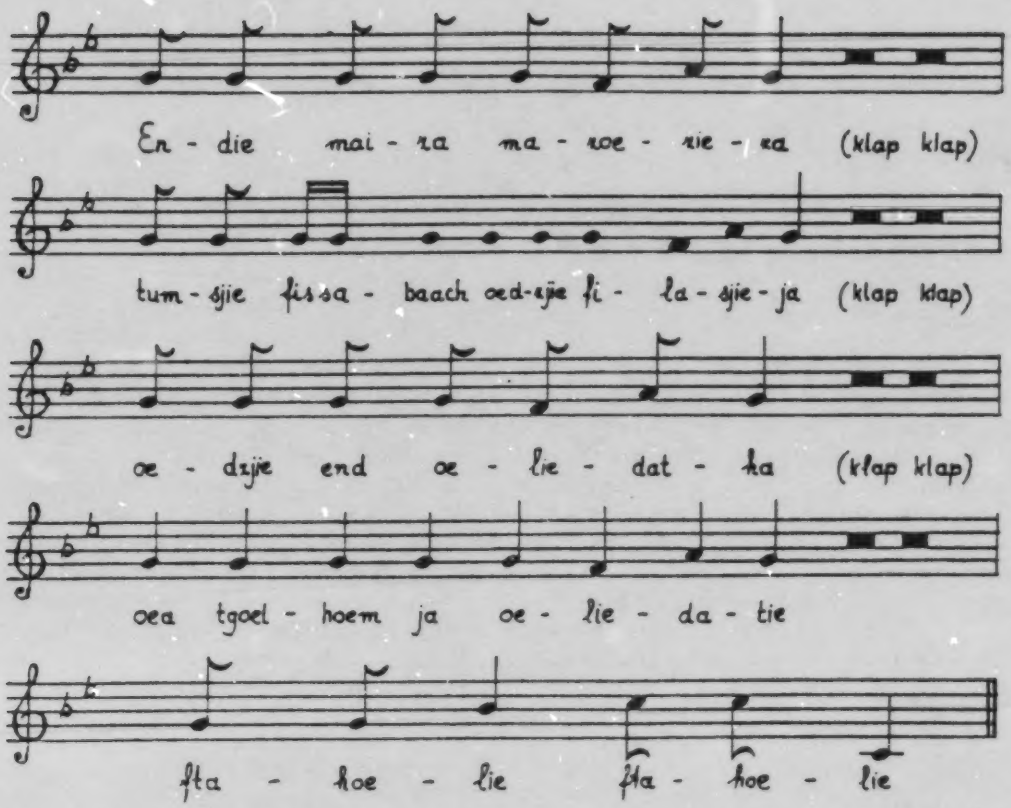
The children play in groups of three or four. Each group has a pile of cards face down on the table and each child a bingo board. Lots are drawn to decide who will start. The first player takes the top card from the pile and turns it over. If he has the same drawing on his board he covers it with a counter. The card is then replaced at the bottom of the pile. He may take another card until he draws a card that is not on his board. It is then the next player's turn. The game continues until one of the players has full house. It would be a good idea if there were jam cookies as prizes for the winners. The recipe is given on the next page. When the game is over all the children could have a jam cookie.

Variation 1 : The player may only cover his picture if he can name it correctly.

Variation 2 : The player has only won if he can name all the drawings on the bingo board.

The Moroccan children should of course help to introduce the game by explaining the rules or teaching the others the correct pronunciation.

ELMAIEZA -


En - die mai - ra ma - roe - rie - ra (klap klap)
tum - sjie fis sa - baach oed-sjie fi - la - sjie - ja (klap klap)
oe - dzjie end oe - lie - dat - ha (klap klap)
oea tgoel - hoem ja oe - lie - da - tie
fta - hoe - lie fta - hoe - lie

Elmaieza : The Goat

Moroccan children's song.

Translation :

I have a goat, a very sweet goat.
She leaves in the morning and comes back at night.
Then she runs to her children.
Then she calls to her children.
"Open the door for me, let me in."

Activity : Learning the song "The Goat"

Method :

Following on the story we now come to a song about a nanny-goat. It is a very well-known song for young children in Morocco and may be compared to "Rock-a-bye Baby" in English. It is highly likely that the Moroccan children will know it, in which case they can help with the pronunciation. The text has been given phonetically under the notes so that the sounds correspond as closely as possible to Dutch. It is not possible to render the sounds completely accurately in this way as there are sounds in Arabic which do not occur in Dutch. We have, therefore, given a rather free rendering, but if there is an Arabic teacher attached to the school, he will give the exact pronunciation. The text is printed in Arabic with a free translation in Dutch. The song is suitable for singing in a circle. The children stand still and clap twice at the rests.

Conclusion

The project material is obtainable from the following address :

Projekt Thuisland
J M F Teunissen
PO Box 10318
5000 JH TILBURG
The Netherlands

The authors would appreciate comments on the material from readers abroad.

Correspondence address :

J M F Teunissen
Hoefijzerlaan 17
3981 GK BUNNIK
The Netherlands

"The' Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines' intercultural project"

(France)

by

Ruth PADRUN
(IRFED)

For over ten years, IRFED (Education et Développement - Institut de Recherche et de Formation)* has been concerned with formulating and putting into practice a methodology of intercultural education, particularly among immigrant workers and their children.

This methodology is based on:

- taking into account, in the educational process, the cultures of the country of origin and host country, not as freely interacting parallel systems, but as a set of differences whose interactions should be analysed so that they can be controlled more effectively and used as a source of enrichment;

- developing methods in which the search for control of cultural interactions is based on the analysis made by the social actors themselves from their own experience, in close relationship with teachers and social workers, to provide an education that will give them the direct means of solving their problems in the best possible way, both in their personal lives and social and working lives.

IRFED set up a first intercultural educational project in 1971 at the Henri Wallon primary school in Fontenay-sous-Bois. This experiment in a Franco-Portuguese setting led to profound changes in the schooling of migrant children and in adult education and made it possible to develop teaching methods and materials that could be adapted to other situations and other migrant communities. It also showed, after the back-up machinery had been in action for a few years, that the intercultural education system could become independent of researchers and operate under its own steam.

The problem today, in the light of past experience, is to see how intercultural methods can cope with the situations of very high foreign population density which are observed in rapidly-changing urban social structures. The new towns are a case in point, and thus the idea arose of carrying out an experiment in intercultural education based on a school complex in the new town of Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines: the Bois de l'Etang school in the municipality of La Verrière.

A. THE NEW TOWN OF SAINT-QUENTIN-EN-YVELINES

In the past ten years or so, there have been nine "new towns" in France, including five in the Paris region. The aim was to create self-contained urban areas within easy reach of the major cities, built according to a new conception of town planning and housing and accommodating a large population which would find as many houses as there were jobs available, but also socio-cultural and educational facilities, parks, sports fields and shopping centres.

The new town of Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, situated 30 km from Paris, extends over all or part of 11 municipalities and covers a total area of 7,500 ha (roughly equal to the area of Paris). The population was approximately 120,000 at the end of 1977, but is expected to rise eventually to 270,000.

The new town is administered by a development corporation (SCAAN) in which the various municipalities are represented. The municipalities have each retained control of the parts of their municipal areas which have not been swallowed up by the new conurbation.

* Institute of Research and Training in Educational Development

Despite a number of interesting achievements, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines has not escaped the difficulties which beset all new towns: neighbourhoods that are often poorly linked, the almost total isolation of some estates built far from major roads, public amenities that are often inadequate or unfinished, the absence of any community spirit and a shortage of jobs, meaning that there are many workers who commute daily to Paris or its suburbs.

The building of new towns like Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines raises a number of highly specific problems concerning immigrant workers, many of whom have settled with their families in the new development areas. They account for about 20% of the total population (including the existing municipalities), but their massive concentration in some housing projects where they form a vast majority raises serious problems of social integration and schooling for their children.

B. THE BACKGROUND TO IRFED'S INVOLVEMENT

In 1978, representatives of SCAAN, EPA, APASC (1) and the municipality of La Verrière, alarmed by the situation of migrant workers in the new town and, in particular, the problems posed by the education of their children, contacted IRFED, whose experiments in the field of intercultural education they were familiar with, and asked it to step in.

In view of the new town's particular geopolitical and socio-economic setting, it was essential, before taking any action, to make a preliminary study of the situation with regard to the teaching of foreigners - children and adults - to produce specific proposals for improving their situation and identifying a pilot area for launching an experiment in intercultural education. The experiment was intended gradually to have induced effects on the whole of the new town and serve as a reference framework for other, similar experiments.

In other words, it was necessary for IRFED to determine the procedure for action-research around a central point in the new town. That point would be located in a school and form the basis of a programme of precise scope and limited duration, which would cover both children and adults. Networks would be set up for liaising and exchanging information with all the bodies interested in such problems in the new town, in order to be able to disseminate results that would be useful both in practice and in the construction of exploitable methods.

From the beginning of the study, IRFED proposed the setting-up of a liaison committee which would be responsible for general co-ordination and would involve both the organisations which had requested IRFED's intervention and other interested bodies: initially, SCAAN, EPA, the local schools inspectorate and IRFED. The committee has met regularly since 1978.

---

(1) EPA - Etablissement d'aménagement public.

APASC - Association pour la promotion des activités socio-culturelles.

The preliminary study, carried out in 1978-79, primarily entailed collecting and analysing data relating to the presence of immigrant workers and their families and the education and training of children and adults in the new town, contacts with various official sources and interviews with head teachers, French and foreign teachers, adult educators, social workers, leaders of associations and parents (both French and foreign). This led to the identification of a pilot area and to the formulation of a concrete educational project.

The proposed pilot area was the Bois de l'Etang estate at La Verrière.

This neighbourhood was chosen because it satisfied all the requirements for the launching of an experiment in intercultural education.

1. The geographical location of the Bois de l'Etang estate, the size and make-up of its population and the problems of schooling for the children.

2. A high degree of motivation and participation at local level: local council, school headmistress, teachers, social workers, leaders, heads of associations, parents.

3. Possibility of swiftly setting up channels of communication both locally and in the whole of the new town.

4. Good prospects for gradual self-sufficiency of the experiment.

C. THE BOIS DE L'ETANG ESTATE

This low-cost housing estate forming part of the new town was built in 1972 on a site located on the outer fringe of La Verrière, not far from the industrial area of Trappes. It consists of ten . to 13 storey blocks, with 616 flats accommodating a total of 3,000 persons. A Renault hostel for immigrant workers borders on the estate.

This housing complex is isolated both from the municipality of which it forms part and from the railway station which connects it with the rest of the new town and the Paris area. Yet it houses over a third of the population of La Verrière:

Total population of La Verrière (1977): 6,589 (1)

Population of Bois de l'Etang (1977): 2,304 (2)

Isolation due to poor transport facilities is compounded by isolation due to the socio-professional structure of the population and its distribution by nationalities. The population is both mainly working-class with relatively low incomes (in 1977 the majority earned less than 3,000 F a month) and mainly (53.1%) foreign. Nearly all the foreign population of La Verrière is concentrated in a virtual "ghetto" at Bois de l'Etang.

---

(1) Source: EPA.

(2) Source: CREDOC (estimate).

The distribution by nationalities is as follows (1):

French:	1,080
Portuguese:	385
Algerians: } Moroccans: } Tunisians: }	702
Black Africans:	69
Other nationalities:	68
Total foreign population:	1,224 (53.1%)

Most wage-earners are employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers, so far from the estate (eg at the Renault works or in the building and construction industry) that it is effectively a dormitory suburb. During the day only housewives, unemployed women and the children remain. The estate has only three shops and one chemist; there are no cafés or restaurants. There has been a weekly market since 1980.

Many of the French families living on the estate have been rehoused there by the local welfare services. They are often problem families with a great many difficulties of their own. The population also includes a relatively large number of single women and women with families to support.

Initially, the combination of these factors caused great tensions and difficulties and a high degree of mobility among the population, the better-off tending to move elsewhere. In 1974-75, the estate as a whole came to be known as "Chicago". The estate's isolated location and the proximity of the hostel for immigrant workers gave rise to unverified and unverifiable rumours of night attacks, creating a climate of insecurity in the neighbourhood.

The situation has improved considerably over the years, with the founding of ABEL (Association Bois de l'Etang Loisirs) and other associations (particularly among North Africans) and the presence of two youth leaders and various social workers. A mosque has been set up in a flat.

Nevertheless, the basic problems - inadequate socio-economic infrastructure, lack of open spaces and meeting-places, difficulties of social integration, especially for women, isolation, loneliness - remain. The problems are particularly acute among adolescents and children.

D. THE SCHOOL SITUATION IN BOIS DE L'ETANG PRIOR TO IRFED'S INVOLVEMENT

A school complex was built at Bois de l'Etang beginning in 1974. In 1978 it consisted of two nursery schools and a primary school. One of the highest percentages of foreign children in all the schools of the new town is found here.

---

(1) Source: CREDOC (estimate).

School rolls in October 1978

		Total	Foreigners	%
Nursery schools:	Bois de l'Etang	189	140	74
	Etang des Noés	129	89	69
Primary school:	Bois de l'Etang	375	225	60

At the primary school, the distribution by nationalities is as follows:

French	151	
Algerian	81	
Tunisian	19	138
Moroccan	38	
Portuguese	63	
Black African	18	
Spanish	2	
Others	3	

The presence of so many linguistic and cultural groups and the socio-economic setting in which the children live pose a number of problems: problems of integration and performance at school, emotional maladjustment, linguistic handicaps and problems of identity. The latter are particularly acute in children coming not only from underprivileged socio-economic backgrounds, but also from linguistic and cultural backgrounds that are either rejected or held in low esteem by French society.

In the first few years, one of the most serious problems was that of backward children, especially among those coming to Bois de l'Etang from other schools. In 1975-76 the situation was as follows:

Children making normal progress	50%
Children one year behind	23%
Children two or more years behind	27%

The school careers of these children were seriously at risk. Most were directed towards remedial classes and special education sections.

Ways of helping these children were sought from the outset and results have been achieved. Two speech therapists and a psychomotor therapist treat those suffering from the most severe disabilities (psychomotor instability, total learning block, dyslexia etc), but they cannot cope with all the work that needs doing.

The following arrangements have been made for teaching foreign children their mother tongue:

- an integrated course in Portuguese,
- an integrated course in Arabic given by a Tunisian teacher,
- an extracurricular course in Arabic organised by the Amicale des Algériens en France.

Unfortunately, for reasons of time and planning, these courses are not really integrated into the general pattern of teaching at the school. There is hardly any contact between French and foreign teachers, and this creates a real barrier between the two types of instruction. Thus the central problem, ie the interactions between different cultures, which is the key to a balanced personality, is not tackled. Foreign children suffer badly from this state of affairs: the disregard for their own culture in the school institution as a whole and the influence of culture conflicts both in the classroom and in life in general affect the balance and development of their personality. The situation is reflected in increasing emotional disorders and backwardness, especially towards the end of primary education, and this may have serious consequences for the transition to secondary education. Indeed, foreign children are more likely to be directed towards a short secondary course, which is a serious setback to their chances of occupational and social advancement.

French children, too, encounter considerable difficulties in their schooling, related to their own social and family backgrounds.

Consequently, despite the efforts made in the past five years and a number of positive results, many problems have remained unresolved and many difficulties have arisen requiring more drastic and wide-ranging solutions.

E. THE BOIS DE L'ETANG INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION SCHEME

The problem facing IRFED was to formulate an educational project in a totally new situation in which no such experiment had been attempted previously. It was necessary to take into account both the specific context of the new town and the particular circumstances of Bois de l'Etang, where about 2,300 people, mostly newly-arrived foreigners, live in a confined space and in almost total isolation. With regard to the school, it was necessary to work in classes in which foreign children were usually in the majority and introduce methods which took account not only of that situation, but also of the interplay between the three major linguistic and cultural groups - Arab, Portuguese and French - without neglecting other minority groups (eg black Africans).

It was essential to set up a comprehensive project covering the whole of the population: children, adults, teachers and social workers, and in so doing to adopt a dual approach enabling both the French nationals and foreigners in the different categories to participate in a valuable and comprehensive scheme for intercultural educational advancement. The project was designed to have immediate repercussions in the whole of the new town.

Among children: the experiment should gradually cover every aspect of school and teaching: structure and composition of classes, content and methods of instruction. The aim is to provide intercultural education that will enhance the various languages and cultures present and take advantage of the constant living presence of foreign children to shift the emphasis in teaching, especially in discovery activities, towards knowledge and first-hand experience of the culture and characteristics of the main foreign countries represented in the school.

IRFED's past experience has shown that an education of this kind not only has positive effects on the behaviour, balance, personal development and mutual understanding of all children - foreign and French - but also leads to better school performance. What is more, it has a positive rebound effect on the teachers, the whole school and the family.

Among teachers: the provision of intercultural education first of all involves breaking down the barriers between tuition given in French and in the mother tongue and reorganising school work in such a way as to permit permanent close consultation and co-operation between French and foreign teachers.

Furthermore, the provision of intercultural education presupposes the acquisition of specific skills by both French and foreign teachers in the various fields covered, in particular the sociology of the migrant environment, comparative linguistics, intercultural psychology and the use of active methods in group and sub-group work. The necessary further training is acquired on the spot and is closely related to the everyday practice of teaching.

Among adults: the intercultural experiment extends outside the school among the different national communities. The aim is to involve them in the educational experiment and to encourage them to organise cultural and educational activities of their own. The first step will be to conduct a survey, with the active participation of teachers and social workers, to identify adults' needs and to give them the opportunity to express them in their own terms and with their own cultural references.

The project provides for gradual self-sufficiency of the experiment. This process will begin at the school from the third year onwards. The exploitation of the results and the setting-up of liaison, consultation and information networks for disseminating the experiment as a whole in the new town are also integral parts of the overall project.

F. THE PRACTICAL ORGANISATION OF THE BOIS DE L'ETANG INTERCULTURAL EXPERIMENT

1. Preliminary meetings

Before the start of the experiment, several meetings were held between teachers, the headmistress of the school and IRFED to work out the broad outline of a programme of intercultural teaching for the year 1979-80 and a programme of teacher training, and to draw up a first plan of action.

An information meeting for parents was also arranged in September 1979 before the start of the experiment.

2. Composition of classes

As the experiment was intended to include all the major cultural groups, the aim was gradually to bring in all the primary school classes. Rather than begin with only one class in each year, which would have penalised the children in the same year who were excluded from the experiment, it was thought preferable to begin the experiment with all the second and third year classes (CE1 and CE2) (1) and to extend it to a higher level each year. Thus, from the third year of the experiment, all the children in the school - except the first years (CP) (2) - would be involved.

---

(1) CE1 = Cours élémentaire 1ère année (2nd year of primary school)
CE2 = Cours élémentaire 2ème année (3rd year of primary school)

(2) CP = Cours préparatoire (1st year of primary school)

In September 1979, the Bois de 1'Etang primary school had 376 pupils in all, including 245 foreign children (ie 65%) distributed as follows:

167 North Africans
64 Portuguese
13 Black Africans
1 Laotian

The plan was to form groups comprising, where possible, a French sub-group and a sub-group of a different cultural community - Portuguese or North African (Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian). One of the classes, however, includes a mixed foreign group of North Africans and Portuguese.

Five intercultural classes were formed:

	N. African	Portuguese	French	Other	Total
CE1 (a)	9		16		25
CE1 (b)	10		15	2	27
CE1/CE2		16	9	1	26
CE2 (a)	19		11	1	31
CE2 (b)	12	9	11		32
	50	25	62	4	141

There were thus three contrasting types of intercultural situations within the sample chosen: French-Portuguese, French-North African and French-North African-Portuguese.

First year pupils (CP) were not included in the experiment as the previous experiment in Fontenay-sous-Bois had shown that it was difficult to introduce non-French culture into the learning process in the period of transition which children go through on entering primary school. It would have been necessary for the experiment to begin at nursery school level: this is one of the objectives set in the extension of the project, but material constraints have so far made it impossible to achieve.

3. The teaching team and its methods

Two foreign teachers have been attached to the Bois de 1'Etang primary school:

- an Arabic teacher, of Tunisian nationality, seconded by the Tunisian Embassy teaching 20 hours a week,

- a Portuguese teacher, of Portuguese nationality, partly on secondment from the Portuguese Embassy and partly under contract to IRFED, for 28 hours per week.

They provide, in consultation with five French teachers:

- three hours' tuition in the language and culture of origin,

- one and one half hours of intercultural discovery activities.

Lessons in the language and culture of origin are held in a school classroom and are attended by the children from the relevant countries and by some French children with parental permission.

At the same time, the French teachers take charge of the French sub-group and work with it on texts closely related to those used by the foreign teachers (readings and cultural materials relating to Portugal or the countries of North Africa).

Intercultural discovery activities are taught jointly by a French and foreign teacher and involve the whole class. They take account of the intercultural dimension by analysing the children's environment and by treating a series of themes based on their experience in relation to history, geography and culture.

For example, here are some of the themes suggested for the intercultural discovery lessons:

- Research into each pupil's background:

  . Origins, birth place, different homes. Compilation of an individual dossier throughout the year.

  . Relations with the country or French region of origin (newspapers, letters, holidays etc).

  . Ties with Portugal, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco or the French region of origin (home, parents, friends).

  . Ties with France (parents' work, school, friends etc).

- Geography of France, Portugal, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

- Recognition of flag and national anthem of each of these countries.

- Rivers (mountains, snow, springs), the sea, the coast etc.

- Religious holidays (Christmas, religious holidays in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco).

These themes are not only closely related to the child's everyday life, but also offer a possibility of comparing different lifestyles, with a view to better mutual understanding and knowledge.

The lessons are based on the principle of active learning, encouraging self-expression and initiative and using various audio-visual aids.

For various reasons (Arabic teacher's excessive workload, organisational problems, difficulty of obtaining parental approval), the initial project does not provide for the systematic introduction of foreign language teaching

for French children, as was the case at Fontenay-sous-Bois. It was thought preferable to enable the French children, during the first year, to familiarise themselves as much as possible with their classmates' cultures and countries of origin and to postpone the learning of foreign languages until later. Nevertheless, French children who so wish - and there are many who do, especially where Arabic is concerned - can attend their foreign classmates' language lessons with their parents' approval.

4. Teacher training and consultation

The planning of the educational work and its adjustment to changing circumstances are the subject of close consultation between the French and foreign teachers, with priority being given to the problem of interaction - linguistic, sociological and psychological - between the various languages and cultures present. The educational process is based mainly on finding, bringing out and explaining differences, making the children aware of their own cultural identity and of that of children whose cultures differ from their own.

This work involves constantly referring to the different family backgrounds which exert a profound influence on the child's personality and which it is important to take into account as much as possible in the educational process. Accordingly, the team of teachers - French and foreign - is endeavouring to maintain a dialogue with the parents and to involve them in discussions on the educational progress of their children at school.

The provision of intercultural education requires very thorough further training of the teachers associated with the experiment.

Thus, in addition to the regular consultation meetings between teachers, the plan of the experiment provides for a programme of more general training held outside school hours, a replacement teacher, also attached to the intercultural training scheme, replacing each of the staff in turn, to enable them to take time off in lieu. This training is intended to provide a more extensive knowledge of the migrants' cultures and countries of origin, the migratory phenomenon itself, the education and psychology of children in the intercultural situation, linguistic interferences etc.

5. Evaluation

Evaluation is an essential feature of the project. The aim is not only to measure the discrepancies between hypotheses and actual practice and results, but also, on that basis, to develop working methods which can be passed on for future use.

An evaluation group is therefore to be set up and operate for the entire duration of the experiment. It should include all those involved directly in the practical running of the experiment - teaching in the classroom and teacher training - as well as a number of specialists not themselves involved in the experiment.

6. Liaison and information networks

The experiment should maintain regular contacts with all the bodies concerned with the problems of intercultural education in La Verrière and in the new town of Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines as a whole.

For this purpose, and to facilitate the extension and further development of the experiment, provision was made for the setting-up of information and liaison networks from the very beginning of the project. These networks will also serve to disseminate the material for evaluating the experiment from the methodological point of view, as soon as such material becomes available.

7. IRFED's role

An IRFED back-up team working in close co-operation with the headmistress of the school is responsible for the regular follow-up and overall co-ordination of the experiment, including its assessment, and for the exploitation and dissemination of its results, in the school and the estate as a whole. It is also in charge of the organisation of teacher training, for which purpose it calls on outside experts where necessary.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE FIRST YEAR

1. The school and teachers

The first year was spent organising the intercultural classes, setting up the teacher-training system and adjusting working methods. The new and difficult problems of working simultaneously on three linguistic and cultural dimensions, in classes consisting mainly of foreign children and in the very unusual context of the Bois de l'Etang estate had to be solved as the experiment proceeded.

On balance, the first year was a success as far as both children and teachers are concerned.

The foreign children attended the native language classes and intercultural discovery activities regularly and enthusiastically. French and foreign children were thus able to acquire a better knowledge of one another's cultures and countries. Contacts were established between different classes and different years and joint sessions were organised.

The intercultural experiment also extended to the teachers, who got to know more about each other and about each other's culture and country. They organised regular consultations to prepare classes and adjust the initial programme where necessary, and a real team spirit developed among them. An introductory course on the Arab world and Islam which was held during the year aroused a great deal of interest and there have been requests for it to be continued in the second year. Furthermore, plans were drawn up for assessing the experiment and evaluating its results.

A number of difficulties encountered during the first year have been solved or are being solved in time for the second year.

Firstly, there were material difficulties as the project's financial resources were extremely limited during the first year. As the outlook for the second year is better, IRFED's back-up team could be reinforced and the experiment intensified as regards the school, teacher-training and work with adults.

Secondly, the Arabic teacher's excessive workload, caused by the fact that there were more groups of North African children than originally expected, made it impossible to complete the initial programme. The number of hours of Arabic teaching therefore had to be reduced from three to one and a half hours a week for some classes so as to enable all the children to participate. This arrangement was considered preferable to excluding some groups of North African children in order to maintain three hours of language tuition for others. A second Arabic teacher would have been required for more regular and intensive Arabic teaching. This problem has been solved for the second year: the Amicale des Algériens en France has seconded an Algerian teacher on a full-time basis to take part in the experiment.

The general teacher-training programme, which was to be held outside school hours, could not be implemented as planned for lack of adequate replacement provision. This problem is also in the process of being solved and the teacher-training programme drawn up for the second year will be one of the main features of the experiment.

2. Adults

The work with adults began with a meeting to inform parents about the intercultural experiment. Secondly, the foreign teachers contacted a number of parents individually to tell them about the experiment, but also to gather information on the family which would help them to follow the child's progress more closely and, ultimately, to arrive at a clearer understanding of the difficulties and aspirations of the foreigners living on Bois de l'Etang estate.

Contact was easier to establish with Portuguese parents because the Portuguese teacher was available more often and because the Portuguese families seemed more interested in having their children taught their language and culture of origin. A number of meetings of Portuguese parents were held, at which the possibility of founding an association was discussed.

Contacts with North African parents will be intensified in the second year owing to the presence of a second Arabic teacher. Allowance will be made for the fact that the North African families are divided into three national groups with their own specific problems of identity and integration, each requiring a different approach.

Adults - foreign and French - were also provided with information on the intercultural experiment through Bois de l'Etang social workers - educationists, youth leaders, social workers, leaders of ABEL - and by the La Verrière Collective which was formed around the experiment. The collective's members include all those in La Verrière - teachers, social workers, representatives of the local council, of parents' associations etc - who are interested in the experiment and wish to make it more widely known and to participate in their various capacities. Interested persons from other municipalities or representing cultural associations in the new town - eg APASC - also participate.

The collective is an important link between the intercultural experiment at the school and its extension in the whole of the Bois de l'Etang estate, the municipality of La Verrière and the whole of the new town.

In accordance with the initial project, work among the adult community of Bois de l'Etang will be intensified during the second year and a more extensive plan of action will be drawn up.

3. Liaison

One of the specific characteristics of the Bois de l'Etang intercultural experiment is that the project included, from the very beginning, arrangements for disseminating and extending the experiment within the new town through the establishment of varied and flexible liaison networks. These include networks for:

a. extending the experiment to the whole of Bois de l'Etang, ie to adolescents and adults, especially women. This is currently being done through teachers and social workers and the La Verrière Collective (see above).

Some teacher-training sessions on subjects of general interest are opened to social workers to enable them to become more fully integrated into the experiment;

b. extending the experiment to the Bois de l'Etang nursery schools and, consequently, to the first year of primary school.

One of IRFED's constant concerns has been the possibility of involving children in an intercultural experiment from the time of their first contact with school, ie from nursery school onwards. At Bois de l'Etang such a possibility exists at one nursery school, provided that the material and institutional problems associated with its participation in the experiment can be solved. To speed up the process, the interested teachers regularly attend the information and training sessions held in connection with the experiment.

Furthermore, an introductory course in intercultural education for nursery school advisers in the new town is planned for the beginning of 1981;

c. extending the experiment to other primary schools.

A number of interested teachers from La Verrière and other districts of the new town attend the meetings of the collective and some information and training sessions (eg the session on Islam). In this way they are gradually becoming more familiar with the methodology used, the practical running of the experiment, the difficulties encountered and the procedure for solving them.

In response to many requests from teachers and cultural development workers in the new town, an introductory course in intercultural education based on the Bois de l'Etang experiment is to be organised by APASC, in co-operation with IRFED, throughout the school year 1980-81.

d. The liaison committee set up at the very beginning of IRFED's involvement (1) is still responsible for general co-ordination of the experiment and for liaison between it and the relevant official bodies in the new town.

---

(1) Cf page 139.

After only one year, which has been devoted mainly to the practical organisation of the experiment and the development and initial adjustment of working methods, it is impossible to draw up a more detailed balance-sheet or to speak of "results". At the end of the second year, which will be a year of intensive and regular operation of the experiment as a whole and of the training scheme, more material will be available, and after the experiment has been in action for three years it will be possible to carry out a more realistic assessment.

Nevertheless, it may be said even at this stage that the first year has been positive despite the difficult operating conditions, and that the experiment is in the process of being intensified and extended.

As regards the school, the experiment has been extended to fourth years (CM1) (1), bringing the number of intercultural classes to seven. One hundred and ninety-three children are now involved. The teaching team now consists of seven French teachers and three foreign teachers, including two Arabic teachers. It will therefore be possible for Arabic language and culture to be taught satisfactorily. The intercultural approach to discovery activities will be intensified, as will the system for evaluating the experiment and exploiting its results both methodologically and educationally. Further training for teachers will consist of 15 training sessions, held on Monday or Thursday evenings throughout the year, on themes identified as being important in the course of the first year.

With regard to the pupils' parents and adults in general - French and foreign - plans have been made for extending and intensifying the liaison and survey work.

In conclusion, we should stress that the originality of the experiment lies not only in its particular geopolitical location (a new town), in the demographic structure of the school (in which foreign children are in the majority) and in the fact of experimenting with an intercultural teaching method in which there are three interacting linguistic and cultural dimensions, but also in the establishment, from the very beginning of the experiment, of a whole series of contacts for circulating information about it throughout the new town, for disseminating its results and for encouraging and facilitating similar initiatives.

Furthermore, the teaching materials and methods developed will enable its results to be disseminated outside the new town, one of its major objectives being to provide all the interested bodies with working instruments for improving the education of foreign children and adults.

---

(1) CM1 = Cours moyen 1ère année (fourth year of primary school).

"Samen wonen, samen leven"
(Living side by side, living together)
(Netherlands)

by

Simon A Jonker
Rein Nijenhuis
Rien van der Velden

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Rotterdam and Oude Noorden district

When the "Samen wonen, samen Leven" project started in 1978, the population of Rotterdam was about 590,000. The cultural background of some 10% of the city's inhabitants was other than Dutch; the figure includes both foreigners and citizens and ex-citizens of other parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Surinam and the Antilles). As the age of the inhabitants drops, the percentage with a different cultural background rises; as many as one in three babies born there today is not Dutch.

Rotterdam is divided into a number of districts, some of which have a much higher than average number of inhabitants with a different cultural background. This is true of the Oude Noorden district. Seventy-nine per cent of its approximately 20,000 inhabitants have a Dutch cultural background, while 7% of the entire foreign, Surinam and Antillian population of Rotterdam lives there.

Age	Total	Dutch, excluding Surinamese #	Surinamese @	Foreigners
0/03	1,000	514	122	364)
4/05	439	236	51	152)
6/15	2,422	1,655	192	575)
16/19	1,180	940	60	180
20/34	6,279	4,997	321	961
35/64	5,762	4,612	288	862
>64	2,839	2,811	7	21
Total	19,921	15,765	1,041 #	3,115

Foreigners:

Spaniards	Turks	Yugoslavs	Portuguese	Moroccans	Italians	Greeks	Other nationalities
)							
) 75	441	86	80	215	12	0	146
)							
9	77	4	19	37	0	0	34
91	244	139	66	184	16	1	220
168	239	54	81	180	25	5	110
0	0	0	1	0	2	0	18
343	1,001	283	247	652	55	6	528

nb: # = situation as at 1 January 1978 (this information is always out of date)

@ = estimated breakdown by age

= the estimated number of Surinamese has been deducted

NB: The number of "Other nationalities" cannot be broken down further.

In all there are 49 different nationalities living in Rotterdam. Expressed in percentages (rounded off in whole numbers):

Age	Total	Dutch, excluding Surinamese	Surinamese	Foreigners
0/03	100%	52%	12%	36%)
4/05	100%	53%	12%	35%)
6/15	100%	68%	8%	24%)
16/19	100%	80%	5%	15%
20/34	100%	80%	5%	15%
35/64	100%	80%	5%	15%
64	100%	99%	-	1%
Total	100%	79%	5%	16%

Foreigners:

Spaniards	Turks	Yugoslavs	Portuguese	Moroccans	Italians	Greeks	Other nationalities
))2%)	11%	2%	2%	7%	-	-	4%
-	7%	-	2%	3%	-	-	3%
1%	4%	2%	1%	3%	-	-	4%
3%	4%	1%	1%	3%	1%	-	2%
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%
2%	5%	1%	1%	3%	1%	-	3%

In Rotterdam, as in other towns, an increasing number of families, especially middle-class families, is moving to villages in the immediate vicinity of the town, whereas it is the towns that attract the foreigners. The relative increase in the number of persons with a different cultural background can be explained partly by the more limited extent to which they practise family planning.

This development is intensified in the older districts of which Oude Noorden is one. Dwellings are cheaper there, usually because of their indifferent state of repair. Moreover, in the course of the years a relatively higher concentration of the socially disadvantaged has built up in such districts compared with others, so that the social distance between these people and the immigrants is not so marked. The strong ties of family and friendship between persons of the same cultural background also encourage concentrations in the old districts, a movement which is accelerated as more families with a Dutch cultural background move elsewhere.

1.2. Broadly-based district consultation

The development outlined above was noticed by social workers and people engaged in pastoral and medical care in Oude Noorden. Workers in these professions have been meeting regularly for many years in what is known as "Breed Welzijns Overleg" (broadly-based welfare consultation) to exchange ideas, co-ordinate their activities and, where possible, develop fresh initiatives.

The idea of starting an INTERCULTURAL PROJECT was thus born in 1975. It was decided to form a small group which would endeavour to define and examine the problems of Oude Noorden. The group consisted at that time of the district police, two protestant clergymen, a catholic priest, several social workers, a number of pastoral workers, a number of teachers on a rotation system and several voluntary workers (most of the group members in fact participated voluntarily). The organisational form will be dealt with in greater detail in a later chapter.

1.3. Aim

The aim was worded as follows:

To discover why so many different nationalities are LIVING SIDE BY SIDE in an old district like Oude Noorden. To promote knowledge and understanding of one another's cultural backgrounds and resultant behaviour patterns and lifestyles so that LIVING TOGETHER in a single district can be a positive experience.

Many plans were made based on this aim but were later rejected. First, information was collected for six articles on foreigners living in the district which appeared in a neighbourhood paper that was distributed from house to house. A number of documentaries were shown, sometimes followed by discussions; the audiences were usually members of clubs whose interest in the subject was superficial and transient.

The need for a structural organisation was soon felt. The collection of information on the situation in the district and on the various homelands was time-consuming and an almost continuous process. In addition it was decided to tackle the question systematically in the schools and thus both to confront the younger generation with the various cultures and to gain access to the parents and other relatives through the pupils.

The "SAMEN WONEN, SAMEN LEVEN" project was born.

2. THE FIRST YEAR (1978/79)

2.1. Set-up

The first year began with great enthusiasm. Since it had been decided to organise the initial activities in the schools, the project year ran parallel to the school year. It was rather like jumping into the deep end of a swimming pool without really being able to swim. Since this was the first project of its kind in Rotterdam (and virtually in the whole country), it was practically impossible to foresee how things would work out.

The first step was to approach a large number of persons and institutions with requests for co-operation. They included neighbourhood centres and youth clubs, the city "Stichting Hulp aan Buitenlandse Werknemers" (Association for Assistance to Immigrant Workers), the "Werkgroep Internationale Solidariteit" (the International Solidarity Working Party), the "Rotterdamse School Advies Dienst" (Rotterdam Schools Advisory Service) etc. (No further names of specific institutions will be mentioned in view of the fact that this study is to be distributed in other countries.) Many offered their services without hesitation; representatives of various institutions were often willing to help in their spare time. There were a number of teachers among these voluntary workers which was advantageous since the schools were to be the first target group.

All the infant and primary schools in the district were approached; in fact these were the only types of schools in the district. They all wished to co-operate and supplied members of the working parties. There was scarcely any material and everything had to be developed from scratch. It was decided to take the theme or project approach. An information file for the teachers and a working file for the pupils was compiled for each theme (eg living). It was intended to start the project at all the schools simultaneously, evaluate results at the end of its six weeks' duration and then prepare the following theme. One of the club-houses in the district rented a room to the organisers for a small sum, which was very useful. There was practically no money available; the costs were covered by modest donations, some in kind, one large fund-raising event and, at the last moment, a small grant from the municipality.

2.2. Experiences

Collecting information such as newspaper cuttings, folders, books, slides, books in various languages, proved to be a time-consuming activity, and the material collected was a far from complete hotch-potch, ill-suited for didactic purposes.

The production of teaching aids was also time-consuming. Three themes were worked out with the following material:

CLOTHING

1. a number of explanatory papers;
2. a children's newspaper;
3. drawings of traditional costumes on sheets of cardboard to be coloured;
4. cut-out dolls with separate traditional costumes;
5. slides and text;
6. clothes chest and instructions.

FESTIVITIES

1. various songs and colouring sheets;
2. various fairytales and colouring books and work books;
3. folk dances (tapes and description);
4. games from different countries;
5. information about religious festivals.

LIVING

1. cut-outs with photographs;
2. drawings of houses;
3. models of houses to be cut out and put together;
4. slides and text about living in Oude Noorden;
5. slides and text about living in other countries.

Some of the drawings and printed matter were commissioned but most of the material was self-made.

In addition, time had to be found to discuss the project with teachers. The project did not work out as planned. A number of schools dropped out, some schools went ahead at their own speed, some primary and infant schools situated close to one another decided to work together. This can be ascribed to the time needed to collect the information and prepare the teaching material, the fact that by no means all the teachers had had experience in working on projects, and the exploratory nature of the project. As a result a small number of people were left shouldering the greater part of the work. When on top of this a number of volunteers also dropped out for various reasons (change of job, moves, switch of priorities), the future looked very black indeed. Despite an extremely successful event on one of the squares in Oude Noorden, where people of many cultures introduced themselves by means of stalls, clothing, food, music and dance, a certain amount of negative publicity built up. The municipality even postponed the payment of the rest of the grant it had allocated.

2.3. Re-thinking

Even though almost everybody concerned considered the "samen wonen, samen leven" project meaningful, even though most of the pupils were very enthusiastic about the material, the project simply did not work out as was expected. In consultation with the municipal authorities it was therefore decided:

a. to hold an inquiry;

b. to mark time and make fresh plans for the future.

a. The inquiry

Informal discussions were held with a wide range of people and institutions. Where necessary, specific questions were asked to elucidate certain details. The following information is relevant to this study:

Is this type of project meaningful?

The answer was unanimously in the affirmative. Ignorance of one another's culture, the language barrier, the fact that activation is necessary in any case in old districts, the high concentration of inhabitants per dwelling - all this results in growing or greater intolerance, sometimes even in aggression. Some of the inhabitants, mainly among the original population, showed a certain fear of their neighbours. A number of the people interviewed were of the opinion that the situation would have deteriorated had the summer been long and hot.

Are the results of the project noticeable?

Little can be said after only one year; in any case nothing can be proved. There are however a number of trends which point in a positive direction, such as:

1. increasing tolerance and even structural solutions which resulted from contacts arising from the resolution of potential conflict situations;

2. generally greater confidence on the part of non Dutch-speaking parents in Dutch teachers (although on the other hand several Dutch parents objected to a more multicultural approach which they felt would hamper the development of their children).

It is of course impossible to guess at what the situation would have been had the project not taken place. One thing is however certain and that is that all those interviewed were slightly to fairly positive (a substantive assessment) about the results of the project. This is particularly remarkable in view of the fact that the way the project was tackled was quite severely criticised (see below).

Does the project solve problems?

In other words, is the project simply providing "first aid" or are situations being structurally tackled? Although those interviewed considered a large number of the project activities to be structural, they regarded others as being necessarily in the "first aid" category. Situations in which the cause of much discontent and many problems lies in unemployment, housing policy and urban renewal afford projects such as this little chance of success for the time being.

What did people think of the project?

All those interviewed expressed practically the same criticism in unequivocal terms:

there was a lack of co-ordination;

there was a lack of communication.

Without detracting in any way from the efforts of many of those concerned with the project (in fact there was unanimous praise for those efforts), the lack of co-ordination and communication meant that the work devolved more and more on fewer and fewer workers. This in turn resulted in others losing interest in the course of the year. The general advice was either to keep the large-scale set-up but to ensure that the means would be available to carry it out, or to tackle the project on a more modest scale, taking fewer themes a year and preparing, presenting and evaluating them more effectively.

Most people were on the whole satisfied with the material. The first informative evening was rated particularly highly. The occasional on-the-spot educational counselling was greatly appreciated; that it was only occasional was due to lack of staff. The cost of the material was mentioned as a disadvantage. Many schools have no special funds for this type of purchase so that they could not buy enough material.

Are the activities within the project reasonably proportioned?

The general opinion, which was perfectly justified, was that great attention was paid to infant and primary schools. The 12-16 year-olds are thereby neglected, but their needs will have to be catered for by youth clubs and neighbourhood centres. The parents were scarcely involved at all during this first year, largely owing to the language barrier. Relations with adults will probably have to be built up by means of a more general scheme of service which could help them with such problems as filling in forms. More direct and clear information on the aims of and opportunities afforded by the "samen wonen, samen leven" project was considered necessary.

WHAT CONCLUSIONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE INTERVIEWS?

I. The project was unanimously regarded as meaningful though the manner in which it was carried out came in for criticism.

II. What is in fact needed is a broad, comprehensive scheme with full attention being paid to the causes of the present lack of success. Until such a scheme had been worked out, implemented and its results evaluated, smaller projects like "samen wonen, samen leven" are to be recommended.

III. Conditions for success include:

efficient co-ordination;
proper communication;
supportive action when seeking contact with non Dutch-speaking persons (interpreters);
counselling in the schools;
visiting families individually.

IV. While continuing the activities in the schools, more should be offered to other age groups.

b. Marking time and new plans

Stimulated by the results of the inquiry, which after all were positive, and by the enthusiasm of the leading group and the front-line co-workers, the organisers decided to regard the project as a three-year experiment (including the year 1978/79). A draft memorandum was completed by mid-1979 which was intended as a blueprint for the activities to be developed. Several months later a more detailed version was ready for presentation to the municipal authorities; this version was intended both as an account of how the first grant had been spent and as an argument to back up the application for a much bigger grant. The plans for the future correspond almost completely with the conclusions drawn from the inquiry, as will be seen from the description of the second year given below.

3. THE SECOND YEAR (1979/80)

3.1. The organisational form

The leading group had developed into what was virtually an administrative council or in any case its substitute. New members (see 1.2) were recruited from the municipality, the Association for Assistance to Immigrant Workers, and the youth clubs and neighbourhood centres. The leading group stimulates initiatives, maintains relations with institutions useful to the project and "keeps a watchful eye on the project in the background". It meets one a month on average.

Responsible to the leading group is a co-ordination group, comparable to an executive committee, which has four members, two from the leading group, and a financial and an external expert. Apart from co-ordinating activities the group creates the necessary conditions for developing the project further. The co-ordination group usually meets once a fortnight; in addition there is almost always one member of the group present at the centre.

A project group has been formed to work out the practical side of the project; all the workers from the centre and field workers are members of this group. The project group decides policy at the practical level in consultation with the target groups. It meets about once a week. In view of the increasing number of internal and external co-workers, consideration is being given to delegating certain activities to sub-groups.

The frequent meetings are necessary for the efficient functioning of the project within the framework in which it operates.

It was a great help when the project managed to acquire its own premises in the second half of 1979. Both the district protestant pastoral workers and "samen wonen, samen leven" were able to rent several rooms in the Roman Catholic presbytery. New initiatives (see below) are undertaken in this centre where possible, or in other accommodation.

3.2. Finances

Expenses are as follows. The calendar year is taken as the financial year; according to this reckoning the project started in August 1978 will end in July 1981.

1978	1979	1980	1981	Specification of items
	9,650			Equipment
300	2,200	5,400	3,600	Rent/electricity/heating etc
1,000	1,650	2,300	2,300	Information centre (books/ subscriptions etc)
625	3,250	5,150	5,150	Office costs
5,100	10,000	14,500	14,500	Intercultural educational material (audio-visual, printing costs, information paper etc)
		500	1,000	Youth clubs and neighbourhood centres material
3,350	4,250	5,150	5,150	Specific activities
	14,000	37,000	23,000	Co-workers' salaries and expenses
10,375	45,000	70,000	54,700	TOTAL

Of this, Fls. 5,000 has been contributed by the Association for Assistance to Immigrant Workers, Fls. 5,000 by a private institution and the rest by the Rotterdam municipal authorities. In addition it should be mentioned that the rent is very low (ie a form of grant by the Roman Catholic Church) and that a number of workers are brought in from outside (ie their salaries are paid by means of grants from the International Solidarity Working Party, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Work and Rotterdam municipality). The staff totals about 10, some of whom are voluntary workers. In practice this budget tallies more or less, with the exception of the costs of the information paper. In view of the six editions a year and the wide distribution, far more money is being spent on this item but it is being compensated for within the budget.

3.3. The broad, comprehensive scheme (see 2.3.a and b)

Much of the discontent is caused by problems of a fundamental nature. This can be illustrated by means of housing and unemployment figures for Oude Noorden.

The average quality of the dwellings as rated according to the quality chart of the Public Housing Service is as follows:

6% class I - uninhabitable or extremely bad;
20% class II - due for demolition within 10 years;
53% class III - poor (ie should be demolished or renovated);
20% class IV - in a reasonable condition (ie could be renovated);
1% class V - good.

Then the unemployment figures for the working population:

Men	Women	
6.0%	4.6%	Dutch nationals - Rotterdam
10.3%	7.3%	Dutch nationals - Oude Noorden
33.9%	14.9%	Surinamese/Antillians - Rotterdam
31.7%	19.7%	Surinamese/Antillians - Oude Noorden
11.3%	9.9%	Nationals from countries where migrant labour has been recruited - Rotterdam
7.9%	8.9%	Nationals from countries where migrant labour has been recruited - Oude Noorden
14.8%	5.5%	Other nationalities - Rotterdam
22.0%	4.8%	Other nationalities - Oude Noorden
7.7%	5.5%	All nationalities - Rotterdam
11.7%	8.7%	All nationalities - Oude Noorden

These figures demonstrate that the inhabitants of Oude Noorden have every reason to be dissatisfied, but it is extremely difficult to improve the situation. The "samen wonen, samen leven" project has recently been invited to participate in the drawing up of a structural plan for the district which is concentrating on "the foreigners", but it will take years before the population derives any

benefit from such a plan. The project is also involved in rent campaigns in the district in which attempts are being made to protest effectively against the raising of rents. The desired renovation of housing is less of a group activity and permits less direct contact with the people of the district. Combating unemployment is considerably more difficult. Language classes and vocational courses are being organised for young foreigners in the age group for which part-time education is compulsory and for young adults but it is still too early to say whether the results are already evident in the employment figures.

For these reasons, the "samen wonen, samen leven" project will for the time being, and certainly in its second year, concentrate on attainable aims.

3.4. Co-ordination/communication

Great emphasis has been placed on co-ordination and communication in the past year. This was possible because of the increased number of internal and external staff, but it was also necessary due to the large numbers of groups, institutions and persons who wished to contribute to the various activities. Reference is made here to paragraph 3.1, but it must be stated that developments have been favourable in the past year. The Ministry of Education has allotted 43 teaching posts to Rotterdam municipality to intensify supportive educational activities among non Dutch-speaking children, including Surinamese and Antillians. A Rotterdam "Steering Committee for the non Dutch-speaking population", whose members include representatives from the biggest catholic, protestant and public school boards, has decided that Oude Noorden is one of the districts where the need is greatest. This resulted in the allocation of 10 4/9 posts, including one for a liaison officer who for the time being has set up headquarters in the "samen wonen, samen leven" centre.

3.5. Supportive action for contact with non Dutch-speaking children and adults (interpreters)

This action is possible thanks to the efforts of voluntary workers and certainly to the extra posts created by the ministry. A Turkish and a Moroccan schools liaison officers have been appointed who are also present in the centre during consulting hours for the general public. For other nationalities the centre relies on voluntary workers (eg from the Association for Assistance to Immigrant Workers) and on the interpreting centre (a telephone service is also available). The centre also co-operates with foreign teachers working in Oude Noorden.

It is intended to intensify contacts in the coming year, for instance by means of a stencilled "periodical" for each nationality, to be distributed in the district. If possible, the centre would like to organise house-to-house visiting but far more money and a far larger staff would be needed.

It must not be concluded from all these activities for the non Dutch-speaking population that "samen wonen, samen leven" is intended for foreigners only; the project is meant to help the entire district. But it will be evident that those who do not speak Dutch are having to cope with an additional handicap and therefore need extra help.

3.6. Supportive action in the schools

It is now possible to intensify activities in the schools with the centre's own workers and the newly appointed supportive staff. There are eight infant and eight primary schools with 45.07% foreign and 8.45% Surianmese and Antillian children at the infant schools and 34.34% foreign and 14.32% Surinamese and Antillian children at the primary schools. The primary schools are divided into lower (the first three classes) and upper (the last three classes) sections. Under these circumstances extensive counselling is needed to familiarise all the teachers with the material and its presentation; it will thus be obvious that by no means all the schools could undertake all three projects.

The supportive staff are providing the necessary extra help to pupils with a different cultural background. One teacher has been appointed to develop and implement a literary programme in co-operation with foreign and Dutch teachers. Other teachers will concentrate on promoting a more effective link-up between primary and secondary schools for pupils whose mother tongue is not Dutch. The schools liaison officers will endeavour to improve relations between the schools, the parents and the neighbourhood.

3.7. Youth clubs and neighbourhood centres

Young people above the age of 13 can seldom be approached through school unless the school acts as an intermediary. The proper channels are the seven youth clubs and neighbourhood centres with their branches. Contact was difficult in the first year but in the past year a number of fruitful discussions have taken place. The centre is exploring possibilities for extending the present very limited scope of the activities for foreigners, Surinamese and Antillians and for translating into concrete terms the wishes these groups have expressed. The co-operation which developed between schools, youth clubs and neighbourhood centres situated close to one another during the past year has had a positive influence. The biggest problem is to overcome the reluctance of young people and adults to visit the clubs and centres. A good example of what a social worker of the same nationality can do has been given during the past two years by a Surinamese member of the Surinam Evangelical Brotherhood.

3.8. Other activities

Where necessary and where possible the "samen wonen, samen leven" centre instigates new activities or gives support to those already being undertaken. The "Wednesday Afternoon Club", for instance, came into being spontaneously. Foreign and Dutch children started dropping into the centre to play games with each other, go on excursions, explore the district etc. As the centre has very little space available, contact is being sought with youth clubs and neighbourhood centres so that the "Wednesday Afternoon Club" can link up with their activities.

In addition, a whole range of other activities has developed. The Rotterdam students union has supplied voluntary workers, a decentralisation project is being thought out in co-operation with a housing co-operative, the district workers hold informal meetings periodically in the centre to exchange ideas, advice is given on exhibitions in schools and the Museum of Ethnography, there are the consulting hours mentioned above, with interpreters present, where anyone can ask advice on any subject.

Another aspect of the work is supplying information to persons outside the district and even outside Rotterdam. Training centres, libraries, schools, similar projects in other towns etc are finding their way in increasing numbers to the centre. Work on the more organised exchange of information has recently been started.

4. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

4.1. The third year (1980/81)

Frequent progress discussions during the second year have revealed that the present working methods are on the whole found to be satisfactory. It is therefore intended to continue "samen wonen, samen leven" along the same lines and if possible in a more concentrated form, linking up at the same time with the work of the schools liaison officers. A model and procedure description of the activities will be drawn up for the benefit of the supportive staff, which will facilitate the passing on of information on experience gained by the project in the schools and in the district, which may be useful for other schools and districts in Rotterdam.

4.2. After the third year

As has already been stated in paragraph 2.3.b, it was decided to carry on the project for an experimental period of three years. After these three years, and in fact before they come to an end, consideration must be given to the question of whether the experiment should be continued in a more structured form or whether it should be abandoned. Nobody has suggested the latter alternative. The question also arises in connection with the additional supportive staff, the subsidised youth clubs and neighbourhood centres etc, whether "samen wonen, samen leven" will retain its function as an independent project. Once the aim has been achieved (see 1.3) the project can be regarded as a success. And if a number of activities can be taken over by the municipal or other authorities, well and good. Then "samen wonen, samen leven" will have acted as a catalyst. For the activities that are left over there will always be people willing to lend a hand.

"Samen wonen, samen leven" is not only a project, it is a continuous process going on through place and time.

5. EXAMPLES OF ACTIVITIES

A brief summary of the activities of the Turkish schools liaison officer is given below, followed by two pages of material from the intercultural projects food, living and clothing. This material was developed and made by the project staff, but it must not be viewed out of context as it is only a small part of a much more comprehensive project.

5.1. The Turkish schools liaison officer's activities

The schools liaison officer's most important task is to improve relations between schools, parents and neighbourhood. His activities are summarised below.

Contacts with parents

1. Visiting parents together with Dutch teachers in connection with absenteeism among older pupils and emotional problems relating to illiteracy and inability to understand Dutch, also among older pupils. These problems include:

   the feeling of being laughed at by other pupils;

   jealousy between some pupils with regard to the extent to which they understand Dutch.

2. Informing parents about the Dutch school system at special evening meetings organised for Turkish parents.

3. Helping to form a Turkish parents' association at one of the Turkish lesson centres where Turkish children are given lessons in their own language and culture once a week.

Contacts with schools

1. Informing Dutch teachers about the social and cultural background of the Turks.

2. Discussing with Turkish teachers in Oude Noorden problems arising from defective contact between them and parents.

3. Helping schools with translations in connection with festivities, contact and report-discussion evenings.

Other contacts

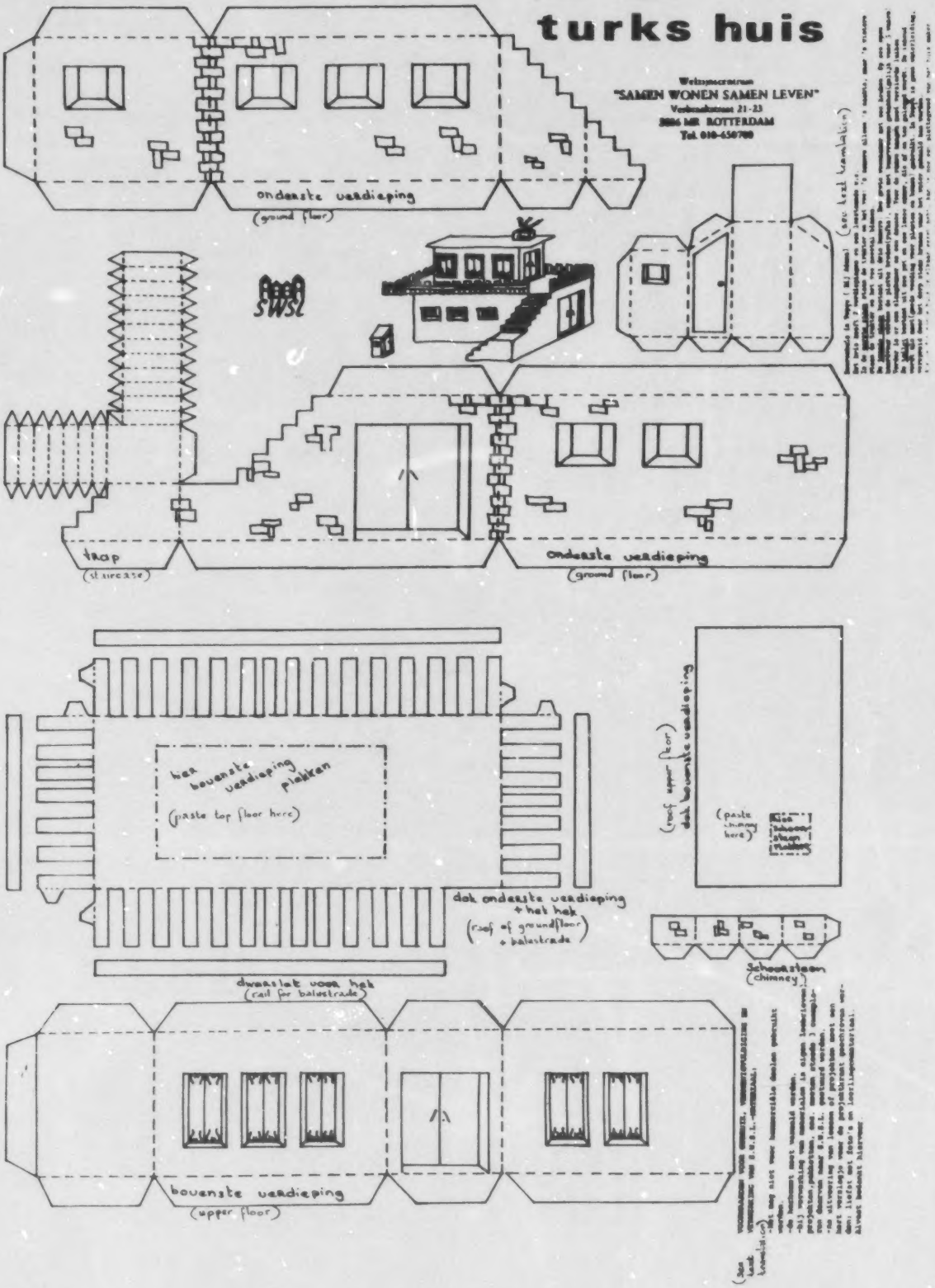
1. Giving information on the social and cultural background of the Turks to social and other workers in youth clubs and neighbourhood centres and to school doctors.

2. Contacts with the officer responsible for compulsory education in Rotterdam in connection with absenteeism among Turkish pupils.

3. Finding a meeting place for a group of Turkish women (sewing, reading, talking).

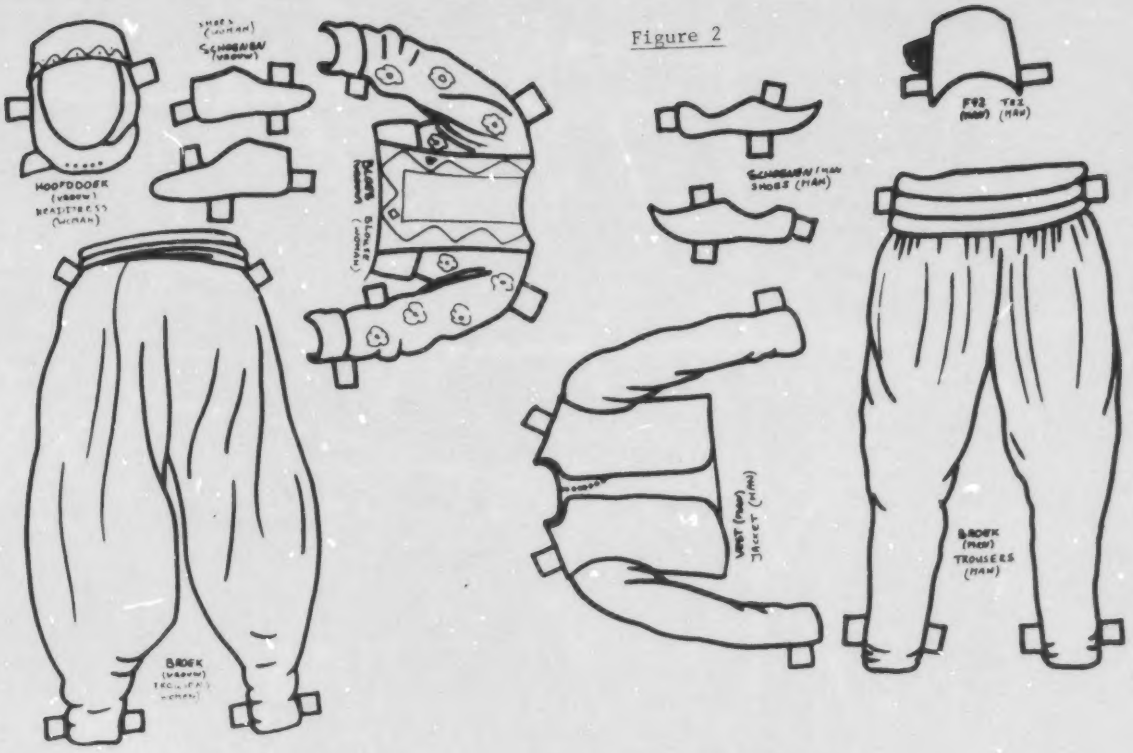
4. Contacts with the Turkish mosque group. The main subject of discussion is religious instruction at primary schools.

Figure 1
(Turkish House)



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure 2


HOOFDDOEK (VROUW) HEADSCARF (WOMAN)
SCHOENEN (VROUW) SHOES (WOMAN)
BROEK (VROUW) TROUSERS (WOMAN)
BLOUSE (VROUW) BLOUSE (WOMAN)
SCHOENEN (MAN) SHOES (MAN)
PET (MAN) HAT (MAN)
BROEK (MAN) TROUSERS (MAN)
JASSET (MAN) JACKET (MAN)

PROJEKT "SAMEN WONEN SAMEN LEVEN"
VERBRANDSTRAAT 21-23
3036 ME ROTTERDAM - TEL 010 - 650 700

KLEDERDRACHT VAN **TURKIJE**
TRADITIONAL COSTUME OF TURKEY

GEMINI WERKSTOEP
GEMINI WORKSHOP

Turkey TURKIJE	TURKIJE	TURKIJE	TURKIJE
MAROKKO	MAROKKO	MAROKKO	MAROKKO
SURINAME	SURINAME	SURINAME	SURINAME
NEDERLAND	NEDERLAND	NEDERLAND	NEDERLAND

vruchtenkwartet of -lotto of -memory

A first version of "Happy Families" or lotto or memory - Figure 3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Some illustrations

Figure 1: A Turkish house (translation of text appearing in figure 1)

Conditions for the use, reproduction and modification of "samen wonen, samen leven" (SWSL) material:

1. it may not be used for commercial ends;

2. the source must be mentioned;

3. if material is adapted for your own written lessons, projects, packages etc, three copies must be sent to SWSL;

4. on completion of the lessons or projects, a short report must be written for the project paper, preferably accompanied by photographs and material made by pupils.

Thank you for your co-operation.

A farmhouse in Topçu (near Adana):

The house has two floors and an outside lavatory.

The tractor and the cattle are housed on the ground floor, in summer only at night but during the winter they are usually inside all the time.

The upper floor consists of three rooms: a big living room with a kitchen, a bedroom and a shower. There is a hearth in the kitchen on which flat loaves of bread (yufka) are baked with the help of the neighbouring farmers' wives (enough for three weeks at a time). The windows have decorated shutters.

The lavatory consists of a pot and a bucket which is emptied from time to time. The contents are used to manure plants and trees. There is no water laid on in the houses in Topçu but there are taps at various points in the village where water can be fetched.

When you have built this attractive house you can make a ground plan of it.

(The rest of the English terms are given on the cut-out.)

Figure 2: Clothing cut-out

(English on the cut-out)

Figure 3: A fruit version of "Happy Families" which can also be used to play lotto or memory

(English words on the sheet)

Case study

on

"Broad Heath School, Coventry (United Kingdom):
a development in multicultural and
community education"

by

Michael FEELEY
(United Kingdom)

Ten years ago the city of Coventry began to develop a new approach to the educational problems posed by children in inner-city areas often handicapped by educational underachievement related to social and economic disadvantage. This approach focussed the energies of the education system not only upon children but also upon their parents. In turn this approach made the schools responsive to the needs of the community in social, cultural and community terms.

Broad Heath school has grown around a philosophy developed by the city's Community Education Programme under the Director of Education, Robert Aitken. A major influence on this programme was the report of the Plowden Committee - "Children and their Primary Schools" - HMSO (1968) which stressed the central role played by parents in the educational process. The basis of the new Coventry philosophy was that the school should harness the energies of the community, and especially its parents, in the education of young children. In return for this considerable community input, the facilities and resources of the school would be made available to the community after school hours. The concept was not a new one, the traditions of the Danish Folk School had also been developed in England during the nineteen-thirties through the growth of "village colleges". What was innovatory was the application of this idea to urban areas suffering the most acute forms of economic and educational deprivation. With a native population which had itself failed to benefit profitably from the educational process it was necessary, at the outset, to restore confidence in schools and in teachers among a community very sceptical about the capacity of the system to respond more successfully to the needs of their children than the system had responded to the needs of the parents themselves.

The first step in the development of the strategy was a survey of the primary schools in the city using indices such as the income levels of parents, quality of housing, domestic facilities, the incidence of single-parent families, etc. Using these criteria the schools of the city were ranked and the twelve worst were selected as the focus of the new and special initiative - Community Education.

The Community Education Project

Under the leadership of John Rennie as a newly-appointed Community Education Adviser, the teachers of the twelve schools - all located to the north of the city - were brought together to plan the strategies which were later to underpin the development of Broad Heath Community Primary School.

With a team of four teachers the new Community Education Project began to introduce new dynamics into the inner city schools - the recruitment of the energies of parents into the educational process and a better expression of schools to parents. Such an effort demanded fresh and original ideas in order to generate a new vitality in inner-city schools. Publicity, confidence-building between teachers and parents, an injection of hope and of faith that children's educational success was not necessarily dependant on social class factors, upon the educational levels of parents or levels of income.

Through a wide range of initiatives the school was "sold" to parents, not as an institution that had already "failed" them, was inhibiting and exclusive, but as an institution for success, offering hope to their children, a welcoming and encouraging focus within the various neighbourhoods.

By the involvement of parents in the work of the schools and by the engagement of the community in the educational process, the Community Education Project hoped to develop the content and the quality as well as the effectiveness of the education service. It was felt that education must be given a positive image and advertised throughout the community in more effective ways to families who often had a pessimistic view of the process and who frequently, and for good reason, had a cynical view. Through this strategy, it was hoped that the cycle of educational disadvantage could be broken. Teachers would be able to work on both fronts - the school and the home. To promote this concept a number of novel, even dramatic, activities were developed by teachers and the Community Education Project. Displays of children's work appeared in launderettes, doctors' clinics, butchers' shops, even in vacated advertising space on buses in the neighbourhood. The school was taken to the community by exhibitions in shopping precincts, by "open" days, special "happenings", involving all the participating schools of the project.

"Education Comes to Town" week, saw the schools taking over parts of the town's main department stores. In the basement where domestic equipment was sold, children cooked, washed, ironed or mended, extending into public view the domestic curriculum of the secondary school. Where sewing machines were sold, the children demonstrated their skills of design, dressmaking and modelled clothes to an audience of shoppers. "Do-it-Yourself" counters had boys showing their skills with tools under the gaze of an informed and critical public. On the top floor of the store, where there was a toy department, the project and its schools arranged a classroom and relays of primary children were taught normal lessons watched by a large, curious and often approving public. Each of these activities demonstrated that schools were open places, that they were welcoming and above all, that parents had a real and important contribution to make to the educational process. Education was no longer lost in mystique.

These strategies were developed year by year into a cohesive programme and integrated into the educational year of the schools in the inner-city area.

The multicultural dimension

Although the high indices of educational disadvantage identified the dozen schools of the Hillfields area of the city as being in greatest need of additional help they did not take into account the multicultural composition of the neighbourhoods, other than through language needs. The proportions of immigrant children in particular schools, ranged from 15% to 60%. Few indeed were the migrant children who fitted the disadvantaging criteria in terms of housing, free school meals or single-parent families. Though they did present language problems these were only accommodated within the criteria that fitted all children. Being "immigrant" was not in itself defined as an educational handicap. Nevertheless the schools, selected by virtue of the special needs of white children from poor social backgrounds, were also the schools with the most children of immigrant origins. This fact imposed additional responsibilities upon the teachers, as well as enormous challenges in bringing such parents into the educational framework - the basis of the whole philosophy.

It was against this background of developing education that planning of the new Broad Heath school was to take place. The spirit of Community Education was well developed in the area, the staff of the schools were tuned to this new approach to education in disadvantaged urban areas; Broad Heath was to become an expression of all these in its title Broad Heath Community Primary School - a novel designation.

The development of Broad Heath

In the mid nineteen-seventies the school population in Britain was peaking. Pressure on school places was increased by the arrivals from India, Pakistan and the West Indies during the previous decade and by the youth of the migrant families still producing children.. Only by the development of a new primary (4-11) school, could the pressure be eased on existing primary schools in the area. A decision was taken to convert old Victorian buildings, formerly used by secondary children, into Broad Heath School. Considerable structural and cosmetic improvements were made to change a two-storey building of single-classroom width into open-plan areas with facilities for wet play and with withdrawal recesses for small group work. The school was fortunate to have its own gymnasium - rare in an English primary school and a substantial number of empty buildings erected as temporary accommodation for the departed secondary pupils. These were to prove a real asset.

The school serves an area of the city once very respectable but blighted by age and the encroachment of industry to the edge of its campus. The houses of families served by the school are Victorian, degenerating terraces with small gardens; poorly maintained where they are occupied by the elderly and bravely renovated in individualistic (if not tasteful) style, where they belong to young new occupiers. As the old population has died, it has been replaced by new Commonwealth migrants - Punjabi farmers - employed in the service industries of the city where shift work or uncongenial conditions repel the native English workforce. Untypically for Britain, Coventry has not had an acute problem of overcrowding amongst its migrants since houses in this part of the city are cheap to rent or easy to purchase. The area around the school in unattractive with derelict workshops to the north of the school, a haulage company to the east and traffic congestion throughout the day interferes with access. Only a stark, new concrete tower block of flats stands above the school - advertising the social problems of an architectural phase regretted by none more than parents of young children. Here lived many of the disadvantaged white children.

The school itself

The school is large by English primary school standards. Over 450 children aged from four years plus, to eleven years, make up its roll. In 1980 no less than 82% of its children came from families who were from India, Pakistan or the West Indies. In the school there are a dozen different languages and four main religions with many sub-sects.

Most children entering the school have one year of part-time nursery education from their third year. On entering the school at four-plus, however, 80% of the Asian children have little active English although many have a passive knowledge gained from the nursery, from older siblings or "telly". Occasionally parents have competent English but are reluctant to start English in preference to the mother language at such an early age.

Coventry primary schools are currently staffed on the ratio of one teacher to 30 pupils thus the normal complement of the school is 15 teachers. However the use of government-supported programmes enables the education authority to allocate an additional five teachers to the school because of the special needs of its "immigrant" pupils.

From its inception in 1974, the school was designated as a community primary school and had one additional teacher to develop community programmes for which additional sessional staff were appointed for evening or weekend work. Because of the commitment of the head teacher, Trevor Sharman, and the staff of the school and with the additional sessional staff, the school was enabled to operate for a twelve-hour day and to open on seven days each week. Community, adult and youth programmes have been developed.

Community programmes

The school is heavily booked by community groups and typically 60-70 classrooms are regularly booked each week. One of the strongest groups is the Everglows, a group of 50 old age pensioners, meeting weekly and running amongst other activities bingo (with a turnover of £28,000 per year), coach trips, craft activities and parties of various kinds throughout the year. Most of these activities are recreational. The churches, temples and mosques in the area make substantial use of the school premises at weekends for purposes of both education and worship. In addition to this are substantial numbers of occasional casual lettings.

Adult programmes

The school is able to appoint additional sessional teachers to teach adult groups. The subjects on offer range from English as a second language to basic literacy, guitar classes, English and maths to public examination standards.

Youth programmes

Provision for youth has developed to the point that no fewer than eight youth groups have developed using the school premises at different times of the week. One of the most recent and successful clubs is just for girls - mainly Asian - who would have no other opportunity of meeting outside the regular school day.

Sport has a major appeal to young people and the area has developed four youth football teams and three table tennis teams which play in regular competition in local leagues.

The Steel Band is an example of a group starting within the school itself. Taught to play to concert level, the children in the band moved on to secondary schools as they grew older. Broad Heath however developed evening provision for these children where rehearsal and practice facilities exist. Parents are responsible for management and organisation of the band - for its transportation and dress. The nusical director is a member of the authority's staff.

The school has a gymnasium and excellent hard outdoor playing space including an adventure playground. Each summer and Easter holiday, play schemes are organised by parents either on paid or voluntary programmes with some professional support. The school originally had the use of spare temporary buildings on the site which have served to accommodate extra school activity, notably a creche for Asian children whilst their mothers attend language classes. The Social Services (Welfare) Department of the Local Authority has an area officer in other temporary buildings, although integration of relationships has been disappointing.

Plans for floodlighting the play area and of establishing some green space (totally lacking on the site), as well as improving parking facilities for community users, are well advanced.

The facilities of the school and much of its equipment are available for community use. Space has to be booked by community users and, in a typical week, up to a hundred room bookings are taken, each for one to three hours. Where bookings are for recreational activities, a charge is made, but where they are for educational purposes (interpreted in the widest sense), lettings are free. At present, the head of the school has the responsibility of defining these categories. It is intended that a community association be formed to carry financial responsibility for community use of the school and to take charge of the community programme.

In 1979 the list of <u>recurring</u> lettings included:

Skills Training
Community Sports
West Indian Supplementary School
Steel Band Group
Mosque Classes
Asian Cookery Class
Health and Environment "Surgery"
Women's Sewing Class
Hindi Class
Circuit Training Club
Old Age Pensioners' Club
Saturday Play Club
Karate Club
4 Football Teams
Photography Club
Kung Fu Wrestling Club
Punjabi Class
Adult Maths Class
Athletic Training
Guitar Class
Weaving Class
Youth Club (4)
Asian Girls' Youth Club
Choir - Supplementary School
Asian Old Mens' Group
Table Tennis Club
Sikh Language Classes
FE Adult Education
3 Table Tennis Teams
English Classes (8)

In addition to these were dozens of single lettings each month, as well as more traditional adult and further education classes.

Each afternoon, language classes are organised for Asian women, often taken by a specialist language teacher, but sometimes deliberately taken by class teachers, in order to make closer contact with parents.

On Sundays, no fewer than six religious groups make use of the school for their own worship or study. It should be stressed that these hirings are in addition to the use made by the school outside the school day. Typing, dressmaking and a daytime "Drop-In" Centre for young unemployed are further examples of the youth work community role of the school.

The community newspaper

Twice each term, the community staff of the school produce a community newspaper "Together", which is delivered free to the 4,000 homes in the school's neighbourhood area. This newspaper serves as a publicity vehicle for the school and its neighbouring primary schools in the Community Education Project, it promotes racial harmony since it is written with each of the ethnic group interests in mind, and it acts as a community voice. Typically articles cover local controversies, recollections of the area in earlier times, activities of local groups, comments and suggestions for the development of the area. The most recent issue describes the work of a telephone "phone-in" group for parents of difficult children, a listening service for young mothers, a newly-formed group of parents of children of mixed race and information about coach trips, community activities, church events and the forthcoming programme of community youth and adult education at the school.

This vast range of activity is almost entirely dependant upon contributions of volunteers. The permanent staff of the school often play a contributory role supporting new activity through its developmental stage and handing over to community groups or to sessionally paid tutors.

The curriculum

Significantly, the multicultural aspects of the school are to be seen in both curricular and extra-curricular activity. The syllabuses, the content of individual lessons, the teaching materials, the books on the shelves - all reflect positive views and expressions of the minority communities and the multicultural society. Such involvement places great additional responsibilities on the staff of the school; most of whom were trained to teach a notional school population which was British, Christian, middle-class and white. Their adjustment to the school population has not been made without an extensive reappraisal of their own personal, professional and even religious values. Their approach has been developed upon a profound examination of the educational needs of children in a society which is culturally, religiously, ethnically and linguistically diverse. The central role of the head teacher and the supportive role of the employing education authority have been essential elements of this reappraisal. The willingness of staff to be involved in training courses and to reflect their newly acquired ideas in their day-to-day work is impressive.

The reception area provides a good example of the multicultural impact of the school. The faces on posters on the walls are black or brown as well as white, the names around the room are Asian or European, the dressing-up clothes include the saris or shulwar/chemises of Asian dress, the equipment of the Wendy house includes chupatti rollers and pans, the play is as likely to be about Caribbean "ackees and salt fish" as readily as fish and chips. Some of the staff are themselves able to use some basic Asian languages to both children or their parents.

Much could be said of the approach to very young children at the reception stage. The use of mothers in the classroom, the place given to the mother-tongue of children, the teaching materials substantially developed to incorporate cultural attributes, present special examples of interest to visitors to the school.

Story time is occasionally in Punjabi or Hindi, and with suitable visual aids expresses the message to English children that minority languages have a part to play in the wider society - that these languages work and are not to be undervalued. The school has a multiracial staff with the ability between them to use all the languages of the children in the school. Such staff are employed on the same terms and conditions of service as other indigenous staff.

The development of a multicultural school in an inner city area represents an enormous challenge not least to the indigenous population. Deep suspicions and jealousies readily develop. Myths abound "... they're making all our children into Indians ...", "... educational standards have dropped since they came ...", are expressions of these deep fears amongst the white population. Nothing is more essential than that these fears are discounted. The "open door" policy of the school is an important strategy. Parents are welcomed into the school at any time; not on a formal passive basis but on an informal participant basis. Parents can be seen working alongside children (not usually their own) hearing children read, demonstrating a craft skill, taking assembly, making, mending, distributing stock, doing displays. From these parents the neighbourhood "grapevine" stems. Important too in this grapevine link are the cleaning and domestic staff. These people usually live in the neighbourhood and can feed or starve rumour and myth, therefore their involvement in the school as team members is a vital necessity.

The culture of minority groups is reflected in the development of the arts in the school, particularly music and dance. The school, although having a small minority of children of West Indian origin developed a steel band. In this not only will be seen children of Indian, West Indian, Pakistani, Irish and English families, but the music of Strauss, Mozart and modern pop classic share a place with the traditional calypso. The running and administration of the band is the responsibility of parents.

Bookings, travel arrangements including visits all over England and to Germany have brought new experience to many parents many of whom have never previously travelled outside Britain. The band has developed in three years beyond the capacity of a primary school to support and, as the children have moved on to secondary schools, new organisational as well as new musical development is necessary.

For the major cultural groups in school, the Asian and Christian festivals are celebrated in turn. Eid, Diwali, belong as readily as Harvest Festival or Christmas to the collective experience of the school and its parents.

The school staff pursue a planned home-visiting programme for each child in their class, establishing links with the home on positive issues, rather than just pursuing parents on negative issues. The school is fortunate to have additional staff to "cover" for teachers doing such work in community related areas.

The staff of the schools have worked to develop the whole curriculum against a background of a multicultural society. Their Statement of Aims and Objectives for Multiracial Education includes the following:

1. To help every child to feel secure and accept his true identity

2. To establish the concept that a Briton may be brown or black as well as white and that a person can be both Moslem and British or Sikh and British

3. To show that the school values the special customs and culture of each ethnic group as an integral part of British society

4. To affirm that each ethnic group has a history, and a family history and that roots of black and brown children are as important as the histories of the indigenous groups

5. To establish the concept that migration in search of work is a normal human activity practised by most peoples at some stage of their history

6. To build positive word associations with descriptions of blackness etc

7. To establish the concept that each language develops and changes and that different forms of language may be appropriate in different situations

8. To establish the concept that individuals and groups change

9. To encourage children to be flexible in their consideration of categories of people and to challenge limited stereotypes about any ethnic groups

10. To consciously represent these precepts throughout the curriculum.

Such a set of aims would be unusual in a British school, yet the staff of Broad Heath school have gone a considerable way towards these goals. The approach has been a collective one on the part of the staff and a trusting one on the part of the parents who are concerned that, in the face of these novel approaches, educational standards do not suffer.

The annual street festival

For the past two years the school staff have been instrumental in organising a massive street festival in which neighbouring Community Education Project schools and adult, youth and community user-groups participate. Led by steel and brass bands mounted on decorated lorries, a procession a kilometre long winds its way through the neighbourhood. With children wearing their national dress or in the special sports clothing used at the school, the infants, pupils, youth groups and the pensioners of the neighbourhood combine together to proclaim their common identity and their community of interests focussed upon the schools around Broad Heath.

Broad Heath Action Group

The development of community interests through a school inevitably brings some aspects of political life into the fields of education. A good example of this has been the formation of the action group which was composed mainly of parents of children in the school who were responsible during school holidays for the organisation of holiday play programmes. These parents became very conscious of the lack of play facilities in the area - particularly of grassed areas. Pressure from them quickly resulted in the construction of an adventure playground on the school campus, and a roller-skating area was fenced off. The shortage of playing space for ball games was a major worry to the members of the action group and pressure from them has persuaded the authority to lay an all-weather pitch which will be floodlit at night.

Material prepared by the action group and supported by a survey conducted by the school's community tutor led to the production of recommendations for the city council on aspects as diverse as building redevelopment, traffic management, property improvement, environmental conservation particularly affecting industrial firms in the neighbourhood of the school causing nuisance and the further development of play facilities. Such a report, generated by members of the community, is an example of the democratic process in action and its production is an example of the central role that the school can play in community affairs.

Foleshill "Drop-In" Centre

This project was set up by the community staff of the school to help the increasing numbers of young unemployed in the area. In conjunction with other initiatives the centre is open every weekday morning offering coffee and advice in a supportive social setting. Information about job opportunities and advice on employment and welfare issues is provided by staff from various local authority agencies. The centre is housed in the youth club area of the school and recreational activities are used throughout the day.

Coventry and the Broad Heath area in particular are currently suffering from high levels of teenage unemployment which bears heavily upon Asian girls. The community school makes special efforts for these girls who desperately lack some forum through which to meet their friends outside their homes. To reassure the parents of these girls about the work of the "Drop-In" centre, every effort is made to open the centre to adults and to involve older Asian women in the provision for girls.

A reflection of six year's development

First and foremost Broad Heath must be judged by its effectiveness as a primary school. Its principal business is the promotion of good educational standards. It is largely towards this goal that the energies of the community have been harnessed. It would be difficult to conceive of a form of evaluation which would accurately relate the academic levels reached by the children in the school to this or that strategy. The experience of the teachers in the school is that academic standards are high, that the "tone" of the school is excellent. The reputation of the school within the community is that of an effective and supportive institution, welcoming and responsive to the wider goals of education beyond simple educational attainment. The partnership of school and community is strong and the degree of confidence in this community school is high amongst both parents and members of the Education Authority.

It would be unrealistic to represent the Broad Heath story as one without stress or failure. In designating teachers in a community primary school, a new form of professionalism was created. High expectations of commitment and dedication were made of the staff. The teaching role and the training for the profession makes, in British teacher training, little provision for the part which parents can play - particularly from inner-city areas. Teachers on Broad Heath school were recruited to a novel task which was to make inordinate demands upon their time and their personal and professional composure. The appointments were challenging. In the early days teachers were giving considerable amounts of time to the community dimension of the school, possibly out of proportion to their teaching task in the school. There was a vacuum which teachers saw and wished to fill. The temptation was for the teachers to take the initiative in the early days in order to show parents what could be provided. Only later did the staff learn to pass initiative for promotion of community activities to the parents and community users. Teachers were sometimes surprised at the ability and the willingness of members of the community to carry such responsibility, some were able to dedicate a considerable amount of time to their work, eg the "steel band" parents who found over four years responsibility for arranging concerts and for organising and transporting the children and their instruments, a whole new experience.

The sense in which the local Education Authority used the term "community" suggests a homogeneity which clearly does not exist in reality. The "community" served by Broad Heath school is in fact an accumulation of sub-communities distinguished by nationality, race, language, occupation, religion and caste . The principal shared value

amongst these sub-groups was a concern for the more effective education of their children. This, above all else, was the spring of energy the school was able to harness. Amongst these sub-categories there were considerable internal factions. Much of the indirect work of the school was the promotion of good race relations - as much within the immigrant groups as between them and the indigenous British groups. There have been periods of tension and even of withdrawal. It was frequently the case that a particular activity began as a multicultural initiative but gradually became the focus for one ethnic faction to the exclusion of others. The school has learned to live with this.

The fact that the school served a multicultural area was a key determinant of the pattern of community education that developed. The staff tried very hard indeed to come to terms with the cultural dimensions and, in many ways, were more successful in this respect than the overall permeation of a community philosophy throughout the curriculum.

The local Education Authority has envisaged that the responsibility for the handling of the resources of their community schools should be exercised through a community association consisting of elected members of the authority, members of the community and nominees representing special interests. This structure has been slow to evolve pending the clarification of national legislation or parental representation on school governing bodies.

Coventry's policy of community education has presented teachers with the opportunity to re-examine their role as educators. It has also presented them with very heavy responsibilities in terms of commitment. In the early days of the school teachers saw a very slender boundary between "school" and "community". They were willing to commit themselves to considerable hours of extra work on community activities. In addition to the long teaching day from 9.00 to 4.00 with the usual choirs, chess clubs, sports activities tagged on, the teachers were often committing themselves to two or even more community activities at weekends or in the evening. As the school developed the head was concerned that such a heavy regular commitment could be detrimental to the pedagogic work and the pattern has now developed where most members of staff give one evening or weekend session for community activities and the supporting Community Education Project deploys additional tutoring help, shared between several area schools, to Broad Heath. As the staff inputs have been somewhat reduced, the contributions of members of the community have steadily increased - now they provide a very impressive range of activity.

The development of Broad Heath Community school was a response by the Education Authority to the total educational needs of a community disadvantaged by social, economic or cultural forces. The settlement of ethnic minority groups in the area further complicated a challenging problem.

The devolution of the strategy of community education within a city-wide framework enabled the school to respond to the needs, not only of children, but of their parents and other adults within the locality. The pressures upon teachers was considerable; nevertheless, the school has shown that educational standards have been improved, that the energies of the community can be harnessed to the education process - even in areas of acute disadvantage and that the work of educating the whole community could properly be directed through the neighbourhood primary school.

Coventry opened five community secondary schools during the nineteen seventies, but Broad Heath was the first community primary school. On the basis of its success Coventry Education Authority opened its second community primary school in 1978 and two others are projected. The development of these schools will depend greatly upon the experience of the teachers, parents and children of Broad Heath community school, who, between them, pioneered a new educational programme bringing optimism where there otherwise might have been resignation.

CONCLUSIONS:

MAIN LINES OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

by

Micheline Rey

The 12 case studies presented here each in its own way constitute an approach to intercultural education. From a consideration of local situations it may be seen that the diversity of field realities is matched by a variety of practical solutions. Nevertheless, the problems are similar as are the approaches. On the basis of a similar principle and a similar objective, the practicalities differ according to the context.

These operations show in particular the dialectical nature of interculturalism. Several different agencies may initiate schemes insofar as these lead to decompartmentalisation, the establishment of relays and co-operation. There is both coherence and diversity, participation by a wide range of educational personnel, social workers and members of different cultural communities placing everyone's action in perspective.

The conclusions that emerge from these experiments may be summed up in a number of proposals, which can work provided, firstly, that they are espoused institutionally and, secondly, that they are not considered in isolation but as components in an action network which derives coherence in the plurality of interaction from a comprehensive sociological option.

The most important (though this list is by no means exhaustive) seem to us to be the following:

- Interculturalism, as regards its educational dimension - to which we shall confine ourselves here - seeks neither to substitute new concerns for the present functions of school, nor to add one more school subject to an already overloaded syllabus. It is a fundamental principle underlying all school activity, which broadens the school's perspective. It is the means whereby the educational institution - from nursery school to university - can best achieve its objectives of democratisation, equality of opportunity and cultural development.

- Interculturalism means mutual recognition of culture of origin and host culture, as differing cultural expressions (of migrants and natives) in one and the same local community. These cultures are never fixed, but creative; they change depending on the interactions at work. It would be wrong to seek to describe and preserve them once and for all. They must be perceived in their dynamic aspect, appreciating the operation of the processes of reinterpretation and reorganisation which pervade them and through which eminently changing situations are experienced.

- Recognition of the equal value of different cultures must not obscure the fact that in reality the cultures of the host countries are in a dominant position vis-à-vis the cultural expressions of migrants and the cultures of their countries of origin. It is important therefore that school, by recognising the various languages and cultures and through the power of legitimation vested in it, should confer enhanced status on the cultures of migrants and their countries of origin.

- Genuine recognition of the various forms of cultural expression by school implies questioning its sociocentric and ethnocentric evaluation criteria, re-examining and broadening its standards (from the point of view of behaviour, social relationships, cultural values and selection factors as well as the very objectives of such selection). Everywhere the school is confronted by problems of failure and selection. These will not find any just solution except through a two-fold movement : from migrants to natives on the one hand, in a process of acculturation and adjustment to the cultural representations functioning in the host community; from the natives to the migrants on the other hand, in a process of recognition, participation and integration of migrants' values, representations and forms of cultural expression.

- While an isolated measure is not in itself intercultural, interculturalism is nevertheless expressed in concrete terms. Nothing is neutral in school organisation, whether it be the recruitment of pupils and their distribution, the framing of curricula and timetables, the disposition of premises, the choice of teaching aids, the provision of resource centres and libraries, the organisation of extra-curricular or out-of-school activities. In fact all aspects of school life lend themselves to intercultural treatment. We shall mention only some of them.

- The presence of mother tongues in the school has a most important part to play in enhancing the status of migrant cultures, by virtue of their symbolic power of expressing personal and social identity. The integration of the teaching of those languages in the ordinary school curriculum accordingly has very special significance. It recognises the right to speak and to a cultural identity. It is important, therefore, to find practical solutions for overcoming the administrative or educational problems encountered in including classes in the language and culture of origin in the school timetable or, even better, of making such teaching contribute to achieving the school's intercultural aims. The next step is to take into account in the teaching provided to natives the cultural and linguistic knowledge which migrants have been taught in their classes in the language and culture of origin, to incorporate into ordinary teaching elements representing the migrants' cultures, leading to mutual enrichment.

- The various school subjects enable knowledge to be acquired from various angles, whether it be in the so-called exact sciences, the human or social sciences, artistic expression (art, drama, music), religion, etc. In all fields of knowledge it is important, methodologically, to bring out the wide range of possible approaches, to identify stereotypes, to show their incompleteness and their reducing function, to place them in perspective and to offer objective information - for reality is not one-sided.

- Similarly, artistic expression occupies an important place in intercultural education. Intercultural teaching must not be relegated to the fringe of school life and to external, superficial manifestations of folklore, but must enable pupils, through their own sensitivity and their own experience, to discover that all cultures have given rise to comparable art forms. Art, an ideal mode of communication and participation, can provide an excellent means of access to the discovery, recognition and appreciation of different cultures.

- Intercultural activity among children and mutual understanding between pupils depend in fact on the organisation of the teaching team and the quality of co-operation between teachers (and other staff), both native and foreign. However, such co-operation is not automatic. There is often a temptation to abuse the goodwill of the partners, whilst the necessary conditions for co-operation are not fulfilled, eg equivalence of status and working conditions, familiarity with team work, knowledge required by the multi-cultural situation.

- Given the dominance of host cultures over cultures of origin and the cultural expression of migrants, foreign teachers find themselves objectively and hence often subjectively in a position of inferiority. It is consequently all the more important, in order that they may co-operate as equals, to afford them a professional status equivalent to that enjoyed by the native teachers with whom they work. This requirement is linked to a number of problems which need to be resolved between the authorities of the various countries concerned, whether they affect initial or continued training, equivalence of qualifications or salaries.

- Harmonisation is required in the often very dissimilar working conditions enjoyed by foreign and native teachers. They must be such as to enable teachers actually to meet, which implies co-ordinating teaching loads, timetables and curricula, choosing mutually compatible methods and appropriate teaching aids.

- Communication between representatives of different cultures can be hampered by divergences between systems of representation and of values. It is important that foreign and native teachers learn to work in intercultural teams, to recognise and to judge their own and their partners' behaviour and knowledge as objectively as possible. They must be able to understand, cope with and overcome the conflicts which necessarily arise out of the confrontation between differing pedagogical practices, and to create solidarity among teachers. Initial and continued training of teachers should prepare them for this.

- The knowledge required by the multi-cultural situation is extremely varied. It includes a knowledge of migration phenomena, the realities with which migrants have to cope, their cultural and social environment and their relations with natives, the various forms of cultural expression involved in the country of origin and the host country, educational priorities, methodology, objectives and teaching practices employed in the countries concerned. It is up to teacher training in particular to lay the foundations for such knowledge and to provide teachers with the means to develop it, to bring it up to date, taking into account the richness and diversity of cultures, their interactions and their development. Isolated efforts are not enough, either from the point of view of the target public or of the duration of training. To be effective, intercultural training must concern all teachers, in the host country and the country of origin, it must constitute both the principle and the objective of initial and continued training. As an intercultural approach requires of the teacher both wide cultural knowledge and experience of co-operation, he must be afforded an opportunity to practise it and the means to assimilate its foundations.

- The first thing required of school is to provide good teaching. But its task does not end there. It also has a function of education, acculturation and socialisation. In fact, these are not separate functions; teaching is adequate only if it is receivable and it is receivable only if it takes into account its pupils' learning conditions, cultural and social background, the environment that fashions their experience and their receptivity. School must accordingly be given the means to perform this task. This raises questions of the willingness of teachers to enter into contact with parents, their participation in community life, their inclusion in pedagogical teams made up not only of teachers but also of social workers representing various cultural communities, so as to provide a link between families, the community and the school.

- It is important that communication circulate between the school, the family and the community and that there should be no rigid demarcation between a time and place for school on the one hand, and a time and place for leisure and the social life of children, adolescents and adults on the other. Contact with the family is intended to inform parents about intercultural education, but also to involve them as partners, which they are, in the educational process. Similarly, in communication between school and community there is interaction and mutual profit. For the school it is a matter of information and of dispelling prejudice, of placing its resources at the disposal of the community, both migrant and native, of soliciting their co-operation, involving them in the creation, management and development of intercultural activities, but also of learning about its modes of expression so as to help their children enter an authentic world.

Let it also be noted, in closing, that the intercultural schemes reported in these case studies were all designed primarily to meet the needs of migrants and natives in the host countries. It is true that intercultural experiments conducted in schools and communities in the countries of origin are still few in number and little is known about them. The above proposals are accordingly formulated on the basis of situations encountered in the host countries. Nevertheless it must be emphasised that interculturalism equally concerns the societies of origin, which are all multi-cultural and will become more and more so, owing to the arrival of immigrants from other countries or regions and to the return of some of their own nationals.

The essential feature of intercultural education, of the cultural development of migrants, the mutual enrichment of cultures and of those who express themselves through them is that they help overcome differences and foster communication.

A P P E N D I X

Council of Europe's publications on the education of migrants' children series "THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS" (1)

Study by Mr PORCHER on the education of migrant workers' children in Europe: interculturalism and the training of teachers (DECS/EGT (79) 82).

Report of the 2nd European Seminar for Teachers on the Education of Migrant Children: Intercultural Pedagogy in the Field, by Professor L PORCHER, Donaueschingen, 24-28 September 1979 (DECS/EGT (79) 37).

Report of the 9th European Seminar for Teachers: "The education of migrant children" by Professor M HOHMANN, Donaueschingen, 22-27 September 1980 (DECS/EGT (80) 81).

Report of the 13th European Seminar for Teachers on the Training of Teachers of the Children of Migrant Workers: Cultural Values and Education in a Multicultural Society" by J S NIELSEN, Donaueschingen, 19-24 October 1981 (DECS/EGT (81) 4).

Report of the 20th European Seminar for Teachers: "The education of gypsy children" by Jean-Pierre LIEGEOIS, Donaueschingen, 20-25 June 1983 (DECS/EGT (83) 63)

* * *

Dossiers for the intercultural training of teachers:

- socio-cultural information

Belgium (DECS/EGT (79) 103)
Cyprus (DECS/EGT (79) 105)
Denmark (DECS/EGT (79) 106)
Finland (DECS/EGT (79) 108)
France (DECS/EGT (79) 109)
Federal Republic of Germany (DECS/EGT (79) 111)
Greece (DECS/EGT (79) 113)
Italy (DECS/EGT (79) 114)
Luxembourg (DECS/EGT (79) 115)
Netherlands (DECS/EGT (79) 117)
Portugal (DECS/EGT (79) 119)
Spain (DECS/EGT (79) 120)
Sweden (DECS/EGT (79) 121)
Switzerland (DECS/EGT (79) 123)
Turkey (DECS/EGT (79) 125)

---

(1) The above-mentioned publications may be requested at the:

School Education Division
Directorate of Education, Culture and Sport
Council of Europe
F-67006 Strasbourg-Cedex
(France)

- socio-cultural situation of migrants and their families

Belgium (DECS/EGT (79) 104)
Denmark (DECS/EGT (79) 107)
France (DECS/EGT (79) 110)
Federal Republic of Germany (DECS/EGT (79) 112)
Luxembourg (DECS/EGT (79) 116).
Netherlands (DECS/EGT (79) 118)
Sweden (DECS/EGT (79) 122)
Switzerland (DECS/EGT (79) 124)

Course on "The intercultural training of teachers"
(Lisbon, 21-24 September 1981). Report by Mrs Micheline Rey
(DECS/EGT (82) 11)

Symposium on "The intercultural training of teachers"
(L'Aquila, 10-14 May 1982). Report by Mrs Micheline Rey
(DECS/EGT (83) 61)

Teachers' Guide to Intercultural Education (working title) by
Mr. B. BLOT (to be published at the end of 1984).